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CONFORMITY AND DEVIANCE: THE HUTTERITES  
OF ALBERTA

by

EDWARD D. BOLDT

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA  
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read,  
and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for  
acceptance, a thesis entitled "Conformity and Deviance:  
The Hutterites of Alberta" submitted by Edward D.  
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degree of Master of Arts.



## ABSTRACT

A sociological tradition views "total communities" as relatively immune to "deviance," particularly in the form of such disapproved behaviors as crime and delinquency, divorce and desertion, suicide and despair. This conception of Gemeinschaft assumes that resistance to deviance is produced through a socialization process that produces a "conformist personality."

There may, of course, be more than one style of conformity, but much socio-psychological research has tested for conformist personality tendencies by using Asch or Crutchfield-type experimental techniques.

An improved design of conformity-inducing device has been developed and used to test the assumption that children from a "total community" will conform more to the decisions of their peers than children of like age and socio-economic status who have been reared in a more "open" society.

Sixty Hutterite children reared in five communistic ("total") communities in Alberta were compared in a revised Crutchfield-type experiment with sixty "worldly" children from farms in the same area.

Contrary to hypothesis, the Hutterite children were found to be significantly less conformist than their non-Hutterite peers and the





hypothesis that "total community" necessarily reduces deviance through the production of acquiescent personality is challenged. Alternative hypotheses and implications are suggested.

One implication refers to the persistence of Hutterite communities and the paucity of defectors. Common explanation claims that these communities remain bound through the internalization of common values and this thesis, then, refers back to the "conformist personality" doctrine here disproved --- in at least one dimension of conformity.

These negative findings urged a test of the power of religious commitment as a defence against defection. An unselect sample, equal to approximately half of all known defectors from Alberta Hutterite communities, was interviewed in depth. These ten respondents give evidence that defection is better explained as a function of perceived opportunity in "the world" than as a function of commitment to Hutterite values.



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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### A. Conformity and Deviance

Conformity and deviance have received increasing attention from social scientists, particularly in the last decade. As is frequently the case, this tendency toward intensified research in a particular subject area reflects a growing awareness by society of the importance of conformity and deviance as social problems. Communication media, such as television and popular magazines, are paying increasing attention to the "dangers" inherent in what has frequently been termed "an age of conformity." At the same time, more time and space is being allotted to discussion of the "alarming" increase in various forms of deviance. The apparent failure to recognize the paradoxical nature of this situation may very well be the result of a past tendency by researchers to treat deviance and conformity as separate and distinct problem areas. However, as investigators are now pointing out, "Deviance is . . . a type of social action understandable in precisely the same terms as conformity is . . ."<sup>1</sup> Conformity and deviance are in a sense opposite sides of the same coin!

Any society or group develops a set of rules or norms of be-

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1. B. Kaplan, "Hutterite Socialization and the Resolution of the Conformity-Deviance Conflict," unpublished paper read to a Symposium on Collective Education and Personality Development at the 1958 meetings of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, p. 3.





havior, and as members of such groups individuals are expected to act in accordance with these norms. Thus "conformity or deviance must always be in reference to some norm or standard,"<sup>1</sup> and conformity might then be defined as "movement toward some norm or standard and non-conformity as movement away from such a norm or standard."<sup>2</sup> Such a definition, however, does not tell us anything about the process or processes leading either to conformity or deviance, and a more meaningful definition might be the following: "Just as conforming behavior is behavior reflecting the successful influence of others, deviating behavior can be defined as behavior reflecting the rejected influence of other persons."<sup>3</sup>

Contained in this definition is the implicit assumption that conformity is the result of adequate socialization (i. e. "the successful influence of others") while non-conformity or deviance indicates a failure of the process of socialization. We know, however, that "adequate socialization" does not necessarily result in "carte blanche" conformity. Socialization can also be an instrument for the induction of non-conformity. That is, it is possible for an individual to be socialized in a manner conducive to non-conformity. Furthermore, socialization is not the only

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1. E. L. Walker and R. W. Heyns, An Anatomy for Conformity, Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1962, p. 4.
  2. Ibid., p. 5.
  3. B. M. Bass, "Conformity, Deviation, and a General Theory of Interpersonal Behavior," in Conformity and Deviation, I. A. Berg and B. M. Bass, (Eds.), New York: Harper and Bros., 1961, p. 40. Emphasis in the original.



determinant of conformity. Situational factors constitute an important intervening variable in the relationship of socialization and conformity (or deviance). Thus the fact that certain individuals conform when others do not "may only mean that their situations are different. One man yields because he fears reprisals of the group against his family; another man resists the same group because he has no family that can be threatened . . . "<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, it is possible that of two individuals in an "identical" situation (e.g., both fear the reprisals of the group), one might conform while the other might not. In such a case personality factors appear to constitute the differentiating variable.

We conclude, therefore, that the determinants of conformity are of two main types -- situational and socio-psychological. The question that immediately arises, of course, is which of the two types of determinants is crucial in any particular situation? Also, what aspects of the situation (or personality) are most directly related to conformity and deviance? And finally, what is the relationship between situational and psychological determinants?

These are, of course, highly complex questions, and complete answers do not yet exist, although numerous investigators have offered partial answers. One reason for the "partial" nature of these answers,

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1. D. Krech, R.S. Crutchfield, E.L. Ballachey, Individual in Society, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962, p.522. Emphasis in the original.





no doubt, is that sociologists largely confine themselves to the situational aspects of the problem, while psychologists emphasize the personality aspect, whereas a satisfactory solution will need to take into account both aspects simultaneously.

Robert K. Merton<sup>1</sup> has supplied us with one such partial answer that is widely accepted as "a step in the right direction." Merton recognizes that biological and personality factors, as well as aspects of the social structure, are involved in this problem, but as a sociologist he remains within the boundaries of the sociological tradition of analysis which seeks to investigate relationships which appear to be independent of the particular individuals involved. By modifying and extending Durkheim's concept of anomie,<sup>2</sup> Merton develops a theoretical scheme which seeks "to discover how some social structures exert a definite pressure upon certain persons in the society to engage in non-conforming behavior."<sup>3</sup> He points to the "dissociation between culturally prescribed aspirations and socially structured avenues for realizing these aspirations,"<sup>4</sup> as the primary source of deviance-producing strain within the social structure. But having located the source of strain, there still remains the question why certain individuals achieve a "conformity

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1. R.K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1957.

2. Emile Durkheim, Suicide, translated by J. A. Spaulding and George Simpson, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1951.

3. Merton, 1951, op. cit., p. 132.

4. Ibid., p. 134.



adjustment" to this strain, while others do not. According to Merton's theory, this adjustment is highly influenced by the relative availability of legitimate means for reaching societal goals.

Richard Cloward,<sup>1</sup> by drawing on the work of Sutherland,<sup>2</sup> Shaw,<sup>3</sup> and McKay,<sup>4</sup> extends Merton's theory to incorporate differentials in access to illegitimate means as well, pointing out that an individual is much more likely to deviate when he has easy access to illegitimate means, than when these are only remotely accessible. Merton agrees, and acknowledges Cloward's contribution as being significant.<sup>5</sup> The importance of Merton's and Cloward's work for our own study resides in the implication that an individual may conform (or deviate) simply because he has no alternative.

The psychological determinants of conformity and deviance are even more obscure than are situational factors. Some individuals, it

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1. R. A. Cloward, "Illegitimate Means, Anomie, and Deviant Behavior," A.S.R., Vol. 24 (1959), #3 (April), pp. 164-176.
  2. E. H. Sutherland (Ed.), The Professional Thief, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1937; Principles of Criminology, Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1947; White Collar Crime, New York: Dryden, 1949.
  3. C. R. Shaw, The Jack-Roller, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930; The Natural History of a Delinquent Career, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931; Shaw, et. al. Delinquency Areas, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940.
  4. C. R. Shaw and H. D. McKay, Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942.
  5. R. K. Merton, "Social Conformity, Deviation, and Opportunity Structures: A Comment on the Contribution of Dubin and Cloward," A.S.R., Vol. 24 (1959), #3 (April), pp. 147-164.





appears, will conform even though the situation is conducive to deviance and vice versa. In such a case conformity, presumably as a result of socialization,<sup>1</sup> has become a personality trait, a generalized habit, and is trans-situational.<sup>2</sup> The literature on conformity is far from unanimous on this point. Some investigators have failed to find any evidence to support the view that conformity as a mode of behavior can in fact become a personality trait such that the individual has a general conformity orientation (i.e. conformity-proneness),<sup>3</sup> while others claim to have found such evidence.<sup>4</sup> The general consensus appears to favor the view that although personality factors do play a part, they are secondary to situational factors.

"It is a common belief that some individuals can be characterized as being conformists and others as non-conformists. In most instances this is probably a confusion in the analysis of the situation . . . It may very well be that conformity or non-conformity as characteristics of an individual are rare

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1. There are some psychologists who assume personality traits relevant to conformity and deviance to be genetic. Although sociologists are generally not receptive to such an approach, hereditary factors might well deserve some attention in that the Hutterites constitute a "genetic isolate." Cf. S. C. Reed, Counselling in Medical Genetics, Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1964, pp. 206-207.
  2. E. L. Walker and R. W. Heyns, 1962, op. cit., p. 90.
  3. S. C. Goldberg, "Three Situational Determinants of Conformity to Social Norms," J. Abnorm. Soc. Psychol., Vol. 49 (1954), pp. 325-329.
  4. R. R. Blake, H. Helson, and J. S. Mouton, "The Generality of Conformity Behavior as a function of Factual Anchorage, Difficulty of Task, and Amount of Social Pressure," J. Pers., Vol. 25, (1957), pp. 294-305.





and that most instances of either class of behavior can be explained in situational terms."<sup>1</sup>

Most investigators do agree, however, on the importance of interactional effects of personality and situation on conformity and deviance.<sup>2</sup>

Regardless of the present state of the situation-person controversy, however, it has been shown that it is possible to rank societies according to the degree to which individuals conform to expected ways of behaving.<sup>3</sup> The Hutterites have long been regarded as being highly conformist, though a systematic study of this aspect of the Hutterites, to our knowledge, has never been attempted. In fact, very few investigators have employed a cross-cultural approach to study problems of conformity and deviance generally. Since other approaches have met with only moderate success, cross-cultural investigations might prove valuable in providing new insights. The study reported here represents such an attempt, centred on the Hutterites of Alberta.

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1. Walker and Heyns, 1962, op. cit., p.9. See also R.S. Crutchfield, "Personal and Situational Factors in Conformity to Group Pressure," Acta Psychologica, Vol. 15 (1959), pp. 386-388.
  2. Bass, in Berg and Bass, 1961, op. cit., p.47.
  3. M. Mead, et. al., Co-operation and Competition among Primitive Peoples, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939.



## B. The Hutterites

### 1) A Brief History<sup>1</sup>

The Hutterian Brethren, or Hutterites, are a German-speaking religious sect whose origin dates back to the period of the Protestant Reformation in the 15th century. They represent the Austrian branch of the Anabaptist movement which broke away from the main stream of the Reformation over the issues of the separation of church and state and infant baptism. Converts to the Anabaptist Movement were rebaptized upon confession of faith, and hence they acquired the name. The Anabaptists trace their origin to Switzerland and the year 1525. In 1533 Jacob Hutter, A Tyrolean hatmaker whose name the Hutterite sect now bears, became the leader of a small group of Anabaptists who isolated themselves from the main body in order to practice a form of Christian communism. Using the biblical Apostolic church as a model,<sup>1</sup> this group committed itself to the practice of "community of goods."<sup>2</sup>

The year 1525 also marked the start of the Peasant War, and

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1. For a detailed account of early Hutterite history see: Robert Friedman, Hutterite Studies, Scottdale, Pa., : Herald Press, 1961; and John Horsch, The Hutterian Brethren, 1528-1931, A Story of Martyrdom and Loyalty, Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1931. A number of additional sources are cited in the Bibliography.
  2. See Bible, Acts 2:41-47 and Acts 4:32-37. ". . . and all that believed were together, and had all things common; And sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need." (Acts 2:44-45). See also Confession of Faith, by Peter Rideman, translated by K. E. Hasenberg, Hodder, and Stoughton, in conjunction with The Plough Publishing House, England, 1950.





since the Hutterites were devout pacifists, they refused to take part in the hostilities. This immediately made them prime targets of severe persecution, and in 1536 Jacob Hutter himself was burned at the stake, while the entire sect faced total extermination on a number of occasions. Pursued by their enemies, the Hutterites were forced to flee, and over the next 250 years they wandered throughout central Europe, settling finally in the Ukraine upon the invitation of the Russian Government. Here they were allowed to live unmolested until 1870, at which time their pacifism again made them the object of hostility. Between 1874 and 1879 they migrated to the United States, settling initially in South Dakota. Approximately 250 Hutterites emigrated from the Ukraine and established the first three colonies, or Bruderhofs, in North America. For the next forty years they enjoyed a period of tranquil prosperity. Then World War I once again aroused anti-Hutterite sentiments. The war had intensified feelings of patriotism throughout the United States, and by 1917 public hostility toward the non-resistant German-speaking sect had reached dangerous levels. Negotiation with the Canadian Government followed, and between 1918 and 1922 almost all of a total of 17 colonies moved to Canada, settling initially in Alberta and Manitoba.





## 2) The Hutterites Today<sup>1</sup>

The latest population figures available<sup>2</sup> estimate that in 1963 there were approximately 14,000 Hutterites living in 142 colonies (56 in Alberta, 35 in Manitoba, 21 in South Dakota, 16 in Montana, 11 in Saskatchewan, and one each in North Dakota, Minnesota, and Washington). It is presently estimated<sup>3</sup> that there are close to 7,000 Hutterites living in 66 colonies in Alberta, which is probably close to one-half of the total North American population.

The Hutterites are divided into three distinct kinship groups (Leut) who trace their origin to the original three colonies which were established in South Dakota.

1. Dariusleut - descendants of the Wolf Creek Colony, established in 1874 under the leadership of Darius Walter, hence the name "Dariusleut."
2. Lehrerleut - descendants of the Elm Spring Colony, established in 1877 under the leadership of Jacob Wipf, a teacher (Lehrer), hence the name "Lehrerleut."
3. Schmiedenleut - descendants of the Bon Homme Colony,

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1. For a detailed account of contemporary Hutterites see Victor J. Peters, All Things Common: The Hutterites of Manitoba, unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1958. This is perhaps the best descriptive study of the Hutterites available. Additional sources cited in Bibliography.

2. P. K. Conkin, Two Paths to Utopia, Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1964, pp. 74-75.

3. Based on figures made available by the Alberta Government.



established in 1874 under the leadership of Michael Waldner, a blacksmith (Schmied), hence the name "Schmiedenleut."

In Alberta today roughly two-thirds of the Hutterite colonies are of the Dariusleut variety, and the remainder are Lehrerleut. The Schmiedenleut group is limited largely to Manitoba and is not represented in Alberta. Superficially, differences among the three groups appear to be relatively minor and are reflected only in slight variations in dress and in colony organization. However, the fact that members of the three groups very seldom intermarry would seem to indicate that the distinction may be more thoroughgoing. Most investigators attribute little significance to the threefold division, although no one, to our knowledge, has yet attempted a systematic study to determine its precise significance. We mention this because the present study was confined to only one of the three groups (Dariusleut).

As has already been noted, the Hutterites live in colonies or Bruderhofs. These are small rural communities with a population of 50 to 150 members. Each colony is an autonomous economic unit, although close contact is maintained with other colonies in the same Leut through visits, correspondence, etc. The economy of each colony is based almost entirely on agriculture, and they generally engage in a highly diversified type of mixed farming. Each colony is headed by a minister, who is in charge of the spiritual welfare of the members, and a boss, or Wirt, who manages the secular affairs of the







colony. Each colony practices "community of goods" to the extent that there is very little private property.

Different aspects of colony life will be examined in ensuing chapters, but it is beyond the scope of this study to present a detailed account of Hutterite beliefs and practices. Interested readers are therefore referred to the footnote on page 10 for alternate sources.

### 3) Previous Research

Since 1874, when the Hutterites first arrived in North America, they have been the object of considerable controversy and some research. Different people have attempted sociological, psychological, and anthropological studies of the Hutterites with varying amounts of success. It is our considered opinion that a disproportionate amount of the available literature concerning the Hutterites is largely descriptive and sometimes quite misleading.

For centuries the Hutterites have lived as a small minority within a predominantly hostile society. Persecution and discrimination are not new to them and methods of mollifying these threats to their existence have been developed. As ardent pacifists, the Hutterites have restricted these methods to non-violent techniques, and their favorite is maintaining a first-rate public relations program. Although most people generally oppose the sect in varying degrees of intensity, the Hutterites are well aware that certain elements within



the larger society are more sympathetic and will occasionally speak on their behalf. In North America, the university community has championed this attitude quite consistently. Consequently, it is our opinion that university personnel investigating the Hutterites have been confronted with a conscious and determined effort on the part of the Hutterites to preserve and reinforce all existing favorable attitudes and to allay any negative suspicions. Unless research is designed so that it is capable of penetrating this facade, the results, in our opinion, may be less than adequate. Moreover, a number of writers, obviously fascinated by the remarkable stability and cohesion evidenced by the Hutterites, have approached their subject matter with a decided utopian bias. People such as Bach,<sup>1</sup> Clark,<sup>2</sup> and Deets,<sup>3</sup> though frequently cited as authoritative sources, have produced works which are perhaps best described as naive utopianism. In 1950-51, Professor J. W. Eaton<sup>4</sup> headed a team of investigators who produced what is still regarded as the definitive study of the Hutterites. Using much more rigorous techniques than his predecessors, Eaton was able, to an extent, to penetrate the facade, with the result that certain

- 
1. Marcus Bach, "Experiment in Contentment," Coronet, Vol. 20(1946), June; The Dream Gate, New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1946.
  2. Bertha W. Clark, "The Hutterian Communities," Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 32 (1924), No. 4, pp. 357-74, 468-86.
  3. L. E. Deets, The Hutterites: A Study of Social Cohesion, Gettysburg: Times and News Publishing Co., 1939.
  4. J. W. Eaton, and R. J. Weil, Culture and Mental Disorders, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1955. Also, B. Kaplan, and T. F. A. Plaut, Personality in a Communal Society, Laurence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1956.





utopian notions regarding Hutterite mental health were shattered.

"Delightful though the prospect was of finding perfect mental health in a society with a social pattern as intriguing and unusual as the Hutterites', it was obvious that we could not take their good mental health for granted, but would have to conduct a thorough and objective evaluation ourselves."<sup>1</sup>

"Through these tests we were able to get behind what the Hutterites wanted to tell us about themselves and learned what they probably preferred us not to know or what they themselves were unaware of."<sup>2</sup>

"The Hutterites have no utopia."<sup>3</sup>

Although published reports of the Eaton study have been available since 1955, "such is our fascination with the utopian"<sup>4</sup> that some writers as recently as 1964 still insist: "There is little if any, mental illness in the colonies."<sup>5</sup> This lack of objectivity in Hutterite research is regrettable especially since Hutterite colonies, like the kibbutzim of Israel, in many ways constitute a natural laboratory for the study of a wide range of social phenomena. Many of the variables which frequently operate to confuse and complicate the study of social behavior, can be effectively controlled in a colony setting.

The Eaton study was concerned primarily with assessing the mental health status of the Hutterites and how the particular "cultural

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1. Kaplan and Plaut, 1956, op. cit., p. 1.

2. Ibid., p. viii.

3. J. W. Eaton, R. J. Weil, and B. Kaplan, "The Hutterite Mental Health Study," Mennonite Quarterly Review, Jan., 1951, p. 59.

4. Kaplan and Plaut, 1956, op. cit., p. vii.

5. T. R. Miller, The Dakotans, Sidney, S. D.: Argus Printers: 1964, p. 67.





and social variables affect mental disorders."<sup>1</sup> An analysis of the conformity-deviance dimension was a part of this study, but only as it relates to mental health. A review of some of the more relevant findings follows.

Eaton found that, "The order of their [Hutterite] society is maintained through an internalized discipline of the conscience, reinforced through a fear of external punishment and social disapproval."<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere he states that, "Adolescents get an opportunity to peek a little behind the curtain of faith drawn by their culture. Most of them are indoctrinated sufficiently well so that they lose interest in what they see."<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, "The rareness of permanent desertions from the parental hearth no doubt reflects also the effectiveness of Hutterite child-rearing practices. Youngsters are so well indoctrinated that they grow up to need the kind of communal support which their culture offers them."<sup>4</sup>

If we interpret Eaton correctly, what he is saying is that Hutterite children, through a thorough process of socialization, internalize group values and expectations; and this then forms the basis of a strong conformity motivation. In terms of our earlier discussion re-

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1. Eaton and Weil, 1955, op. cit., p.208.

2. Eaton, Weil, and Kaplan, 1951, op. cit., p.57.

3. J.W. Eaton, "Adolescence in a Communal Society," unpublished paper, no date, p.12.

4. Ibid., p. 9.



garding the determinants of conformity and deviance, Eaton would seem to emphasize personality factors rather than situational factors. He does, however, recognize that situational factors are involved, as the following discussion of Hutterite desertion indicates.

"Hutterites go into the outside world without much preparation in dealing with its expectations. Most of them talk with a slight accent, have little knowledge of how to dress, do not know worldly manners, and generally can make a living by only doing menial chores. They are not likely to meet middle class or upper class individuals. They must associate largely with that section of the population who frequent cheap hotels and furnish seasonal labor. The prejudices of many worldly "outsiders" against anyone who is different do not generally help to make for a pleasant stay away from home."<sup>1</sup>

In other words, individuals who may be contemplating defection are faced with a number of problems which they will have to cope with should they decide to desert the colony. The implication in terms of Merton and Cloward is that an alternative to colony life is not readily accessible. This situational factor, however, appears to be only secondarily relevant.

"The Hutterites may not be well prepared for life and participation in the big world. But there is no question about their effective socialization process. Religion, tradition, and the active manipulation of parents and leaders work hand-in-glove to bring up Hutterite young people to want what their way of life can give them."<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Bert Kaplan, a psychologist on the Eaton team, has a dif-

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1. Ibid., pp. 9 & 10.

2. Ibid., p. 13.





ferent perspective. In an unpublished paper, he states, first of all, that he found among the Hutterites "a maximum of conformity and a minimum of deviance to an astonishing degree."<sup>1</sup> This, he states, is "accounted for by two closely related features of the socialization process; the relative lack of tolerance for deviance and the paucity of patterned alternatives to conformity that are provided."<sup>2</sup> In discussing the "lack of tolerance for deviance," Dr. Kaplan goes on to say: "The primary meaning of this kind of discipline is not, as I see it, that it creates a strong fear of punishment for deviance, but that it makes clear to the child that his deviance will be opposed with the full strength of his parents' will."<sup>3</sup> And he concludes, "It may be seen that we incline toward the view that the prevalence of deviance is not a function of the strength of the impulse life alone, but is related also to the permissiveness of the social system with respect to deviant behavior."<sup>4</sup>

Dr. Kaplan appears to differ from Eaton in his usage of the term "socialization." Whereas Eaton places the "impulse life" and socialization in a separate category from "lack of tolerance" and "patterned alternatives," Kaplan appears to favor the view that the

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1. Bert Kaplan, "Hutterite Socialization and the Resolution of the Conformity-Deviance Conflict," unpublished paper cited earlier, p. 1.

2. Ibid., p. 4.

3. Ibid., p. 5.

4. Ibid., p. 7.





latter are also closely related to socialization. In other words, situational factors operate only within the context of a particular socialization process. Kaplan's failure to elaborate sufficiently makes it rather difficult to accurately assess his position, but his views appear to converge to some extent with the propositions developed in the present study. At any rate, this aspect of Hutterite life was only a peripheral concern of the Eaton team, and the desirability of further research seems clear.



CHAPTER II  
THE PROBLEM

Although the Eaton study may have over-emphasized<sup>1</sup> the lack of deviance among Hutterites, our own observations generally support the view that there is "a maximum of conformity and a minimum of deviance,"<sup>2</sup> in relation to the larger society. Consequently it is of interest to determine what factors account for this stability.

Since the methodological problems involved in an analysis of all forms of deviance manifested in Hutterite colonies are formidable, we have restricted our investigation to only one form of deviance, namely, permanent defection from colony life.<sup>3</sup> According to Hutterite moral standards, the act of deserting the colony in favor of the larger society constitutes one of the gravest of all possible offences. To quote a prominent Hutterite leader,<sup>4</sup> "These people [i. e. defectors]

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1. The Eaton study was carried out in 1950-51. Since then changes have no doubt taken place. What we consider an over-emphasis on conformity as a characteristic response-trait of Hutterites, may be partially due to this time factor.
  2. B. Kaplan, unpublished paper, op. cit., p. 2.
  3. The term "permanent defectors" is used to refer to individuals who have left the colony, who have no intentions of returning, and who, over a period of time have achieved a degree of successful adjustment to life in the larger society. Although the terms of reference of our study confine us to this particular form of deviance, we would like to think that some of our findings apply to other forms as well.
  4. Informants quoted in this study will remain anonymous. This particular statement was made during a series of taped interviews with Hutterite leaders.





are lost. Absolutely they're lost. No question about it." ("Lost," in this case, refers not simply to one less member in the colony, but, rather, one less Hutterite in heaven.)

In 1951 Professor J. W. Eaton enumerated all living persons "who were born in a colony since 1874-77 but left the sect," and states, "We have information on 106 Hutterite males and 8 females who 'deserted' as the Hutterites put it. . . . Together they represent about 2.5% of all ethnic Hutterites age 15 and over."<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to ascertain accurately what proportion of the 114 deserters could be classified as "permanent defectors" according to our usage of the term. As Professor Eaton points out (see footnote below), a certain proportion of these deserters are simply "trying the world" for a while, with intentions of returning to the colony. Our own estimates<sup>2</sup> indicate that

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1. Eaton and Weil, 1955, op. cit., p. 41. In a footnote to this statement Professor Eaton states, "We undoubtedly missed some cases . . . No person was listed as a deserter in the census reports of 9 colonies not visited by any staff member . . . . Also, some of the younger persons are likely to return after they have 'tried the world' for a few years." (p. 41.)

2. Since no official figures are available, we have based our estimates entirely on information obtained from the Hutterites during the many years that we were in close association with them. It might be useful to the reader to know that the writer's father taught school at a Hutterite colony for thirty years. As a German-speaking family situated on the periphery of a colony it was, of course, inevitable that we should acquire considerable information about the Hutterites and their "way of life." This background of knowledge was invaluable to the writer in the course of the study reported here, especially in the collection of data.



since 1918 (when the Hutterites first arrived in Alberta) approximately 50 to 60 individuals have permanently defected from colonies in Alberta. Many of these now reside outside the Province of Alberta and some are no longer living. According to our information there are very close to 20 permanent defectors in Alberta at the present time.<sup>1</sup>

In view of the increased pressure toward assimilation which have been brought to bear on the Hutterites as a result of modern methods of communication and travel, these figures are indeed remarkably low. Our problem is to investigate and attempt to explain this phenomenon. What are the methods of social control that operate so effectively to reduce defection?

In our introductory chapter it was pointed out that the determinants of conformity and deviance are generally considered to be of two types, situational and psychological. Walter C. Reckless, in his "Containment Theory,"<sup>2</sup> points out that certain methods of social control emphasize situational manipulation ("outer containment"), while others emphasize personality factors ("inner containment"). F. Ivan

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1. The number of "temporary deserters" who usually leave in the spring and return in the fall, is much higher, although no accurate estimates are available. Also, there are four "excommunicated" colonies in Alberta whose members are frequently referred to as "deserters." However, since these people retain much the same life-style, including communal living, they do not meet our criteria as permanent defectors.
  2. Walter C. Reckless, The Crime Problem, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1961, chapter 18, pp. 335-360.





Nye<sup>1</sup> has developed a theory of social control in which he recognizes four types of social control: "(1) direct control which comes from discipline, restrictions, punishments, (2) internalized control which is the inner control from conscience, (3) indirect control which is exerted by not wanting to hurt or go against the wishes of parents or other individuals with whom the person identifies, and (4) the availability of alternative means to goals and values."<sup>2</sup> In reviewing Nye's work, Reckless points out that (2) above (i.e., "internalized control"), corresponds to his own concept of "inner containment" in that it "is a product of good or poor internalization,"<sup>3</sup> while the remaining three types of control are all part of "outer containment."

Our review of Hutterite research pointed out that most investigators regard "inner containment" as the method of social control which best characterizes the Hutterites. Those who do make reference to "outer containment" generally emphasize "direct" and "indirect" controls, paying only "lip service" to Nye's fourth type of social control, namely, "the availability of alternative means." According to Merton and Cloward, however, the availability of an alternative is a crucial situational determinant of conformity and deviance, and the present study is an attempt to assess the effectiveness of this factor in the Hut-

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1. F. Ivan Nye, Family Relationships and Delinquent Behavior, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958.
  2. Walter C. Reckless, 1961, op. cit., p. 344.
  3. Ibid., p. 355.





terite context.

We take the position that effective indoctrination (i.e., inner containment or internalized control) has been grossly over-rated as an effective agent of social control among the Hutterites, and that situational factors (i.e., outer containment) are crucial to the low defection rate. Moreover, we propose to test the statement that the lack of a readily accessible alternative to colony life is in fact the single most important deterrent to defection. There are considerable barriers which make the transition from the colony to the larger society a difficult one, and it is the existence of these barriers which operates to keep Hutterites in the colony.

Thus we propose to test the following hypotheses:

1. There is no significant difference between Hutterite and non-Hutterite farm children with regard to the degree of internalization of a "conformative orientation" (i.e., conformity as a personality trait); and, therefore,
2. Hutterite socialization practices, as a method of indoctrination, do not constitute a major factor in the low defection rate.
3. Fear of punishment does not operate as an effective deterrent against defection.
4. The single most important determinant of the low rate of defection is the lack of a readily accessible alternative to colony life.



## CHAPTER III

### THE RESEARCH DESIGN

#### A. Conformity Test

##### 1) Equipment and Technique

Data to test the first hypothesis were obtained by measuring conformity rates in a group pressure situation. The two best known techniques utilized in the experimental study of conformity have been developed by S.E. Asch<sup>1</sup> and R.S. Crutchfield,<sup>2</sup> although a number of other investigators have employed variants of these two types.<sup>3</sup>

In his widely known experiments Asch employed a number of "stooges" (i. e., confederates of the experimenter) and a single naive subject. The experimental setting was such that the naive subject sat near the end of a row of stooges. Each individual in the group was asked to judge the length of lines displayed before him on cards. By prior arrangement all the stooges gave an incorrect answer on certain of the line stimuli. The naive subject thus found himself in a situation where the correct answer was in opposition to the consensus of the

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1. S.E. Asch, Social Psychology, Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952. Especially Chapter 16.
  2. R.S. Crutchfield, "A New Technique for measuring Individual Differences in Conformity to Group Judgment," Proc. Invitational Conf. on Testing Problems, Princeton, N. J.: Educational Testing Service, 1954, pp. 69-74.
  3. Cf. R.R. Blake and J.W. Brehm, "The Use of Taperecording to Simulate a Group Atmosphere," Journ. of Abnorm. and Soc. Psych., Vol. 49 (1954), pp. 311-313.





majority. Using this procedure Asch developed a technique for measuring the power of group pressure to induce conformity.

The major advantage of the Asch technique is that it "engages the subject in an interpersonal behavior event, with face-to-face oral communication among members,"<sup>1</sup> thereby approximating more closely a "real life" setting. On the other hand, the Asch technique is highly uneconomical in that only one subject can be tested per session. In order to avoid the use of confederates, therefore, Crutchfield devised a different technique more readily adaptable to large-scale research use. A brief description of this technique follows.

"Five subjects at a time are seated side by side in individual booths, screened from one another. Each booth has a panel with a row of numbered switches which the person uses to signal his judgments on items presented on slides projected on the wall in front of the group. Also displayed on his panel are signal lights which indicate what judgments the other four members are giving to the item. The booths are designated by the letters A, B, C, D, and E, and the subjects are instructed to respond in that order. They are not permitted to talk during the session.

Although this is the way the subjects are led to understand the situation, they are in fact being grossly deceived by the experimenter. There are really no electrical connections among the five panels; the signals are actually delivered by the experimenter from a master control panel in such a way that pre-established sequences of lights appear in the same way on all five individual panels. . . . Moreover, all five booths are labeled E, so that each subject sees the sequence

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1. Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey, 1962, op. cit., p. 511.



of judgments allegedly emanating from persons A, B, C, and D before he makes his own judgment. On those critical items where the experimenter wishes to impose group pressure, he makes it appear that all four members -- A through D -- agree on an answer which is clearly at variance with the correct answer. In this way all five subjects are confronted with the same conflict between their own judgment and the bogus consensus. They may resolve the conflict either by giving the same judgment as the group's, thus conforming, or by giving their own answer, thus remaining independent." <sup>1</sup>

In this way Crutchfield was able to test five subjects under equal pressure simultaneously. It is clear from the above description, however, that the test gives no indication how the subjects might have responded to "critical items" under "normal" conditions (i.e., when not under pressure from the group). Thus what might be interpreted as a conforming response to a question might well be the way in which the subject would have responded in the first place, especially if the tasks involved tended to be ambiguous. This deficiency is especially important in cross-cultural studies in that it allows for the possibility that differential conformity rates may be due to variation in the perception and interpretation of questions, rather than a reflection of group pressure. In other words, the Crutchfield technique, (sometimes referred to as the "panel-of-lights" technique), fails to control adequately for an important extraneous variable.

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1. Ibid., p. 509.





In order to improve this aspect of the Crutchfield technique, the investigators<sup>1</sup> developed a procedure utilizing very similar equipment but which involves a reversal of a previous decision or judgment on the part of the subjects. According to the procedure employed for the present study, subjects are first asked to respond to test items under what might be termed "zero pressure" conditions. They are then confronted with the same task again, but this time subject to group pressure to conform. Subjects' scores are then calculated on a "before-after" basis. Conforming responses can thus be attributed with greater confidence to the independent variable (i. e., group pressure). In short, the procedure includes what has been referred to as a "crucial missing cell"<sup>2</sup> in the experimental design. Whereas the Crutchfield technique is based essentially on an "after only" design, the procedure described in detail below has the effect of adding the missing "before" cell.

Five subjects were seated at panels enclosed by portable booths so that neighboring panels could not be observed. Each panel consisted of three switches, labelled A, B, and C; three red lights, one opposite each switch; and twelve green lights, three for each of the other subjects. (See Appendix I.) In addition to the five subject panels there

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1. Mr. J. W. Bulcock, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Alberta, Edmonton, collaborated with the writer in developing the testing procedure.
  2. S. A. Stouffer, "Some Observations on Study Design," A. J. S., Vol. 55 (1950), Jan., pp. 356-359.





was also a master control panel placed behind the subjects, at which one of the investigators was seated.

A series of 18 questions (see p.33 and Appendix III), was presented to the subjects via an overhead projector and a screen placed in front of the subjects. Instructions were relayed to the subjects by means of a tape recorder in order to assure uniformity for all groups tested.<sup>1</sup> Three possible answers to each question were also presented on the screen and lettered A, B, and C. In part one of the test subjects were asked to answer each question as it appeared before them on the screen by pulling the switch (A, B, or C) which corresponded to the answer (A, B, or C) which they felt was the correct one. Upon pulling a switch the red light next to it illuminated and at the same time an electric calculator was put into operation such that there was a short burst of "noise" each time a switch was pulled. The calculator was used to simulate the sound of a computer which (the subjects were told) was recording the answers. The purpose of the red lights was to assure the subjects that their panels were operating correctly. In addition to the "noise" and red light, the pulling of a switch also illuminated a light on the control panel such that the researcher operating this panel could immediately ascertain how each subject had answered the question. It was this researcher, and not a computer, of

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1. An oral preamble preceded the tape recorded instructions. See Appendix II for complete text of both.



course, who was also recording the answers on appropriate response sheets. (See Appendix IV.)

In this way, then, subjects were asked initially to answer all 18 questions. For part two<sup>1</sup> of the test subjects were told that they would be given another opportunity to answer the same questions; only this time we would make it easier for them by first letting them see how their friends had answered each question. This could be accomplished by manipulating the switches on the control panel, thereby illuminating the green lights on the subject panels, which were not used during part one of the test. Thus, by observing which of the three green lights (A, B, or C) under each subject's name came "on," the subject could tell how the others had answered the question. Subjects were led to believe, of course, that the computer was feeding the answers to them. In actual fact, the researcher at the control panel, again employing the calculator as a noise-maker, was responsible. It should be pointed out also, that each subject was shown the responses of the other subjects only, not his own previous response.

As indicated in Table I (page 34), six of the 18 questions were "fixed." In other words, on twelve of the questions the answers fed to the subjects' panels were in fact the legitimate ones (i. e., the answers re-

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1. There was no time interval between the two parts of the test. Part two was begun immediately upon completion of part one.







corded on the response sheet). For the six "fixed" questions, however, the investigators manipulated the control panel switches in such a way as to give the impression that all the subjects had answered 'A' for example, when they might in fact have answered 'B' or 'C.' Each of the 18 questions had a "correct" or "most appropriate" answer, and, as will be shown later, subjects almost invariably chose this "correct" response in answering the questions the first time. On the six "fixed" questions therefore, the answers fed to the subjects were obviously "wrong" and the subject was forced to decide whether to "stick to his guns" and ignore the contradictory answers of his friends, or to change his response to coincide with the others, even though it was more or less obvious that they were "wrong." In this way each individual was subjected to the "pressure" of four other individuals.

## 2) Scoring

Individual conformity scores were calculated by checking response sheets for the number of times each subject had changed his answer from the "correct" one to the "wrong" one on "fixed" questions. Since there were six of these on the test, the highest score possible was six and the lowest possible score was zero. However, a correction factor had to be introduced in computing scores for two reasons. First, it was found that a few individuals gave the "wrong" response the first time they answered the question. In such a case it was impossible, of course, for the subject to conform in part two of the test.



Secondly, some individuals did change their response in part two of the test, but not in the anticipated direction. Scores were therefore calculated on the basis of the total number of changes, the number of "random changes," and the number of "predicted changes." For example, for a certain "fixed" question 'A' is the most appropriate response. If a subject answered 'A' initially and failed to change in part two, his score would be zero; but if he changed to 'C,' this would be a predicted change and he would have a score of one. However, if the subject changed to 'B,' this would be a random change. In order to control for such random changes, each subject's score was calculated by subtracting the number of random changes from the number of predicted changes. In this way we sought to make certain that each subject's score represented a true measure of changes due to group pressure rather than an individual's tendency to be inconsistent. It should be noted that in using this method of scoring it becomes possible for subjects to obtain a minus score. Also, since some subjects gave the predicted response the first time, the total possible number of changes was reduced accordingly. Thus the following formula was used to calculate scores.

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{no. of predicted changes} - \text{no. of random changes}}{\text{total possible no. of changes}}$$

### 3) Sample

The subjects of our conformity test consisted of an experimen-





tal group of Hutterite children and a control group of non-Hutterite farm children. Due mainly to financial considerations, it was not possible for us to select these children in a random fashion. Instead, we selected five Hutterite colonies from the Dariusleut group largely on the basis of proximity to Edmonton. The farm children similarly constituted a convenience sample except that an effort was made to visit rural schools in the immediate vicinity of the five colonies.

At each of the five colonies the total population in grades 5, 6, 7, and 8 was tested; although, as will be pointed out later, some grade 4 students were also included. The non-Hutterite farm children were selected randomly from the total population in grades 5 to 8 at each rural school visited. In this way 60 Hutterite children from five colonies and 60 farm children from four rural schools were tested. These nine schools represent three school divisions located between Edmonton and Calgary. Permission to conduct tests was obtained on the understanding that all names of schools, colonies and individuals involved would remain anonymous.

Subjects were tested in groups of five, and where possible, all subjects in each group were at the same grade level. This, of course, required a minimum of five students in a particular grade before a complete group could be tested, and students in excess of five needed to be in multiples of five if we were to test the total school population and still maintain the grade distinction. Since these criteria were not





always met we were faced with two alternatives; maintain the grade distinction and lose a number of subjects; or else maintain the grade distinction where possible and combine students in different grades only when necessary, to avoid losing subjects. Financial and time considerations forced us to adopt the latter approach, and consequently Hutterite groups frequently contain students at different grade levels, including some in grade four. We were able to maintain the grade distinction in the farm group in almost all cases due to the larger number of students in each grade. For reasons already stated, no attempt was made to control group composition for variables other than grade level.

#### 4) Test Questions

The 18 questions included in the test were of three types, as follows.

Type I - questions involving "visual perception;" e.g., subjects were asked to judge the length of three lines and indicate which was the longest.

Type II - questions involving "problem-solving ability," such as are found in I. Q. tests; e.g., subjects were asked to indicate the next number of a logical sequence.

Type III - questions involving "basic Christian values," such as those relating to honesty, reciprocity, etc.; e.g., subjects were presented with hypothetical problem



situations and were asked to indicate the best course of action.

Table I below summarizes the distribution and sequence of the three types of questions, and indicates also which questions were "fixed." (See also Appendix III.)

TABLE I  
DISTRIBUTION OF TEST QUESTIONS BY TYPE

		TYPE			FIXED QUESTIONS
		I	II	III	
QUESTION NUMBER	1	X			
	2		X		
	3			X	
	4	X			FIXED
	5			X	
	6	X			
	7			X	FIXED
	8		X		
	9	X			
	10		X		FIXED
	11			X	
	12			X	FIXED
	13		X		
	14	X			
	15			X	
	16	X			FIXED
	17	X			
	18			X	FIXED
TOTALS		7	4	7	6

The 18 questions used in the test were selected from a total of 25 on the basis of pre-test results involving 25 urban subjects. For reasons of clarity and discriminatory power, these 18 questions were





judged as being the "best." It was decided to vary the questions according to the three types outlined above in order to cover a wider variety of tasks and also in response to the advice offered by other investigators of conformity, such as Blake and Mouton, who state that, "Future laboratory investigations can benefit from employing tasks which arouse individual feelings of personal commitment and group loyalty."<sup>1</sup> Due to the cross-cultural nature of our study it was imperative that the test involved either "culture-free" items or "universals." On this basis we classify Type I and Type II questions as being "culture-free," while Type III questions involve "universals." Our justification for this latter classification inheres in the fact that Type III questions included only what we consider to be "basic Christian values," such as deference to parents ("honour thy father and mother"), reciprocity, (the "Golden Rule"), etc. Hutterites, as members of a Christian religious sect, would be expected to subscribe to these values, as would most rural Albertans. Findings which will be presented later indicate that we were justified in making these assumptions.

##### 5) Validity and Reliability

It has already been pointed out that the purpose of the conformity test was to ascertain the degree to which Hutterite children have internalized a "conformative orientation" (i. e., conformity as a per-

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1. R. R. Blake and J. S. Mouton, "Conformity, Resistance, and Conversion," in Berg and Bass, 1961, op. cit., p. 25.



sonality trait). Implicit in this approach to our problem are a number of assumptions which require careful scrutiny.

1). Our first assumption, which has already been discussed to some extent in the Introduction, is that the major determinants of conformity are (a) situational factors, and (b) personality factors. This approach to the study of conformity has been fairly well documented and appears compatible with the views of most investigators even though they differ in their assessment of which of the two types of factors is most significant.

Blake and Mouton state that, "Critical sources of influence are referable to the nature of the task, the circumstances of the situation within which the behavior occurs, and properties and characteristics of the individual on whom pressures are exerted."<sup>1</sup> Bass stresses "the importance of personal effects, situational effects, and group effects . . . in determining whether or not conforming behavior will occur."<sup>2</sup> Crutchfield agrees that, "The conformity or independence of the individual under group pressure depends upon the nature of the situation and the characteristics of the individual."<sup>3</sup>

2). The evidence is less conclusive (but still supportive) with regard to our second assumption which concerns the feasibility of separating

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1. R. R. Blake and J. S. Mouton, "Conformity, Resistance, and Conversion," in Berg and Bass, 1961, op. cit., p. 26.
  2. B. M. Bass, 1961, op. cit., p. 42.
  3. Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey, 1962, op. cit., p. 504.





situational and personality factors. In other words, can one legitimately speak of conformity due to personality (or situational) factors alone? Bass indicates that this is, in fact, a legitimate approach and discusses conformity under the headings, "Conformity effects due to persons regardless of situation,"<sup>1</sup> and "Conformity effects due to situation regardless of person."<sup>2</sup> Under each of these headings Bass cites numerous studies that illustrate the possibility of effecting a meaningful separation of the two types of factors. Crutchfield concludes his review of the literature on this point with the following statement:

"The above findings offer strong support for the proposition that conformity tendencies are significantly related to enduring personality factors in the individual. Evidence for the validity of this statement comes from many different studies. . . . And it is noteworthy, too, that the general picture of the conformist found in these studies bears considerable similarity to the picture of the "persuadable person" studies in attitude change experiments. . . ."<sup>3</sup>

Walker and Heyns also provide support for our approach to the problem of conformity, viz., ". . . there are situations in which some individuals tend to conform and others do not, although the situation is essentially the same for everyone. Such differences in behavior in an identical situation must be attributed to differences in personality."<sup>4</sup>

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1. B. M. Bass, 1961, op. cit., p. 42.

2. Ibid., p. 45.

3. Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey, 1962, op. cit., pp. 527-528.

4. E. L. Walker and R. W. Heyns, 1962, op. cit., p. 9.





There is considerable evidence, then, that it is possible to obtain a valid measure of correlation between personality factors and conformity. Since some of the studies cited above arrived at this conclusion using a testing procedure very similar to our own, we can be reasonably confident that our method of measuring conformity due to personality factors is legitimate.

3). Important problems still remain, however, and our next assumption, as outlined by Crutchfield, bears this out.

" . . . there remains the crucial question of whether the influence of such personality factors is universal for all kinds of conformity situations. In view of what we have learned earlier about the powerful governing role of situational factors, it would seem prudent to conclude that, although personality factors undoubtedly play a major role in determining conformity behavior, their influence may be substantially modulated by variations in those specific situations in which the conformity behavior is elicited. . . . The personality factors predisposing toward conformity in one type of situation are to some extent different from those relevant to other situations."<sup>1</sup>

Thus, although it is possible to correlate personality and conformity in a particular situation, there is no guarantee that this correlation can be generalized to other situations. This is, of course, crucial to the present study in that we intend to generalize our findings from the testing situation to everyday life. A satisfactory solution to

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1. Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey, 1962, op. cit., pp. 528-529.



this problem is not possible given our present state of knowledge. The available evidence neither conclusively supports nor negates this assumption, and the ultimate validity of this aspect of our study must await further research. We take the view, however, that conformism as a personality trait, developed gradually through a process of socialization, will tend to be a "Generalized habit, . . . is trans-situational, may be a characteristic of a culture, can be a nearly immutable characteristic of an individual or a population."<sup>1</sup>

4). As has already been indicated, our test assumes that the situation for both groups, experimental and control, was identical. Insofar as possible we did attempt to create very similar situations for both groups. The equipment set-up was as similar as we could possibly make it in each school visited. However, as the sample characteristics indicate, (see Table II, p.46), it was not possible to control rigidly for such variables as sex, grade, and intelligence. Since the Hutterite groups tested were generally less homogeneous in these respects than the farm groups, this may have biased our results, although, "Experiments designed to evaluate the role of homogeneity among members regarding their degree of equality in ability, skill, and knowledge generally have failed to demonstrate a relationship between this factor and susceptibility to conformity pressure."<sup>2</sup>

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1. Walker and Heyns, 1962, op. cit., p. 90.

2. Blake and Mouton, 1961, op. cit., p. 14.







Perhaps a more significant variable which we were unable to control concerns the friendship patterns among each group of five subjects. According to Crutchfield, "Whether the group is composed of friends or strangers is also significant for amount of conformity. The relations are complex, however. Among friends an individual may feel emotionally more secure than among strangers and thus feel less threat if he deviates. On the other hand, he may respect the judgments of his friends more highly and thus be more swayed by them."<sup>1</sup> Other investigators state categorically that, "When acquaintance based on prior social interaction is the variable, the susceptibility to conformity pressures created by such acquaintances is greater than conformity pressures created by strangers."<sup>2</sup>

Since all of the schools included in our sample were fairly small and rural, the question of whether the subjects were friends or strangers hardly applies. All the subjects knew each other, but some no doubt were better acquainted than others. The Hutterite children had grown up together and it is very probable that most of them knew each other better than many of the farm children.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey, 1962, op. cit., p.514.

2. Blake and Mouton, 1961, op. cit., p.13.

3. The following comment by Professor Eaton is significant here.

"In general, young people do a great deal of their growing up within a stable and closely-knit group of peers. The process of socialization and development depends greatly on "horizontal" identification with their peer group. Imagination and expectations are influenced considerably by other children of similar physical and mental development." (Eaton and Weil, 1955, op. cit., pp.28-29.) From this one gets the impression that Hutterite children would be more readily influenced by their peers in the testing situation than would farm children.



However, since the literature does not provide any consistent evidence as to the significance of varying degrees of friendship, it is very difficult to assess the effect this variable might have on our results.

Finally, attempting to create identical situations for individuals from cultures as divergent as those of the Hutterites and non-Hutterite farm children is in one sense quite impossible due to differences in the way such individuals perceive the situation. As Crutchfield points out, ". . . situations are never identical for different people. . . . The best we can do is to find situations that are as objectively similar as possible. And even when we do, the meanings of these objectively similar situations may differ for different people. Any specific situation cannot be artificially isolated from the larger life situation of the person; he brings to the specific situation much of what is involved in the larger situation."<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere he states, "The amount of conformity induced by group pressure to some extent reflects this larger context."<sup>2</sup>

These then, are the major assumptions upon which the validity of our conformity test rests. Clearly there are some important deficiencies in our approach to the problem of conformity, due, perhaps, mainly to the absence of a reliable body of evidence in this subject

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1. Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey, 1962, op. cit., p.522.

2. Ibid., p.515.





area. Many of the studies of conformity reported in the literature are of an exploratory nature and the findings can hardly be considered conclusive. Our approach, therefore, has been to design our test in accordance with the main areas of consensus presently reported in the literature and also to make some of the suggested improvements. This task, of course, was compounded by the cross-cultural nature of our study.

### B. Interviews with Defectors

Data to test our third and fourth hypotheses (i. e., (#3) fear of punishment does not operate as an effective deterrent against defection, and (#4) the single most important determinant of the low rate of defection is the lack of a readily accessible alternative to colony life) were obtained by interviewing ten permanent defectors from Hutterite colonies in Alberta.<sup>1</sup> The ten defectors interviewed were selected because they were most readily available, and most of the remaining individuals in this category could not be located at the time that the field work was carried out.<sup>2</sup> This resulted in a certain de-

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1. See footnote on page 19 for definition of the term "permanent defector." As was pointed out earlier, we estimate that there are approximately 20 such individuals in Alberta.
  2. This part of the study was carried out in collaboration with Dr. J. A. Hostetler of Temple University, and Marlene M. Mackie, University of Alberta at Calgary, who were also engaged in Hutterite research. The interview schedule (see Appendix V) was developed in collaboration with these investigators, while the field work was carried out by the writer. Mrs. Mackie has since completed an M. A. thesis entitled, The Defector from the Hutterite Colony: A Pilot Study. Permission to use part of the same body of data for the present study was obtained through the co-operation of Dr. H. Zentner, Department of Sociology, University of Alberta at Calgary.





ficiency of the data in that seven of the ten respondents had defected from the same colony, and six were members of the same family. The remaining three respondents represented three different colonies in Alberta. Although we would certainly have preferred representation from more colonies in our sample, the problems involved in locating defectors precluded this. However, much of the information elicited from defectors concerned not only the respondents' personal experiences, but also his impressions of Hutterite defection generally, and to this extent the limited representation was less crucial.

Our reasons for choosing permanent defectors as informants were the following:

- 1). Having personally experienced the process of leaving the colony, such individuals could rightly be regarded as "experts" on the problem of defection.
- 2). Ex-Hutterites, in contrast to colony members, are sufficiently detached from colony life to be able to comment objectively on defection, an area which most colony members hesitate to discuss.
- 3). In contrast to "temporary defectors," who leave the colony for a short period of time with intentions of returning, permanent defectors are actively attempting to assimilate with the larger society, and would therefore be well qualified to comment on some of the problems involved.

Thus ten permanent defectors in Alberta were located and in-



interviewed in depth on the basis of a 130-item schedule (see Appendix V). The interviews, each of one to two hours duration, were tape-recorded by the writer and later transcribed. This resulted in a large body of non-quantified data, only a portion of which was relevant for our study. Due to the "open-ended" nature of many of the questions, a meaningful statistical analysis was not possible. Instead, the questions judged most relevant to our study were selected and the findings presented largely in the form of direct quotations. This particular format for the presentation of findings, though interesting to read, has a number of disadvantages, not the least of which is the fact that a great deal of space is required to present a relatively small amount of data. Consequently, at the risk of appearing eclectic, we restricted our analysis to seven "key" questions, with only indirect reference to others. These particular questions were selected only after a careful study of the complete interview schedules revealed no contradictory evidence. In other words, every precaution was taken to make certain that the findings presented are, in fact, representative of the total body of data.

### C. Additional Data.

Additional data were obtained through interviews with prominent leaders of the Dariusleut group. Also, the writer visited the four "excommunicated" colonies in Alberta in a limited attempt to assess the significance of this particular form of deviance to the over-all





picture. In each case data were collected by means of unstructured, taped interviews. Since the information thus obtained is only secondarily relevant to the present study, our interpretation of these findings will be limited to the section entitled "Some Implications" (page 78), in which an attempt is made to relate our findings to the larger context of Hutterites generally.



# CHAPTER IV - THE FINDINGS

## A. Conformity Test Results

The conformity test data are presented in a series of tables each representing a comparison between experimental and control groups. Difference-of-means tests have been applied to the most crucial comparisons in order to assess their statistical significance.

Table II, below, is a general summary of sample characteristics including mean group scores.

TABLE II

SUMMARY OF SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS INCLUDING GRADE, AGE, SEX, AND MEAN GROUP SCORE

		No. of Individuals by grade					No. of Individuals by age						Sex		Mean Group Score	School
		4	5	6	7	8	10	11	12	13	14	15	M	F		
HUTTERITE GROUPS	# 1	1	4							4	1		2	3	.30	#1
	# 2	1	1	3						1	2	2	2	3	(-).38	
	# 3	1	3	1			1		3	1			3	2	.15	#2
	# 4			2	3					2	3		0	5	.41	
	# 5		5				4		1				2	3	.37	#3
	# 6				2	3				1	2	2	2	3	.08	
	# 7			4	1			1	2	1	1		5	0	.32	
	# 8	4	1				3	2					3	2	.27	#4
	# 9		4		1			1	4				3	2	.09	
	#10				5					1	4		3	2	.08	
	#11	2	2	1			1	3	1				1	4	.31	#5
	#12			2		3				1	2	2	4	1	.27	
	Totals	9	20	13	12	6	9	7	11	12	15	6	30	30	$\bar{x} = .19$	
FARM GROUPS	# 1		5				4	1					4	1	.18	#1
	# 2			5				2	3				2	3	.49	
	# 3			5				2	3				3	2	.55	
	# 4				5				1	4			2	3	.50	#2
	# 5					5			1	1	3		3	2	.47	
	# 6					5				1	4		2	3	.53	
	# 7				5				2		3		3	2	.54	#3
	# 8			4		1		1	3		1		2	3	.74	
	# 9		4	1			2	1	2				4	1	.55	
	#10					5				1	3	1	3	2	.19	#4
	#11		5					5					4	1	.30	
	#12				5				3	2			2	3	.55	
	Totals	0	14	15	15	16	6	12	18	9	14	1	34	26	$\bar{x} = .47$	
	Gr.totals	9	34	28	27	22	15	19	29	21	29	7	63	57	$\bar{x} = .33$	





Table III summarizes the results of a difference-of-means test based on the above group conformity scores.

TABLE III  
COMPARISON OF HUTTERITE AND NON-HUTTERITE FARM  
SUBJECTS ON THE BASIS OF GROUP CONFORMITY SCORES,  
ALL QUESTIONS

GROUP	N	$\bar{x}$	$\Sigma(\bar{x} - x)^2$	t	t at p=.01
HUTTERITE	12	.19	.492	3.59	2.82
FARM	12	.47	.292		

Table IV represents a similar comparison to Table III except that it is based on individual rather than group scores.

TABLE IV  
COMPARISON OF HUTTERITE AND NON-HUTTERITE FARM  
SUBJECTS ON THE BASIS OF INDIVIDUAL CONFORMITY  
SCORES, ALL QUESTIONS

INDIVIDUALS	N	$\bar{x}$	$\Sigma(\bar{x} - x)^2$	t	t at p=.01
HUTTERITES	60	.19	6.313	4.59	2.62
FARM	60	.47	6.761		

This finding refutes our hypothesis which states that there is no significant difference between Hutterite and farm children in this respect. However, the fact that Hutterite children scored significantly lower than farm children clearly supports our position with regard to the effectiveness of Hutterite socialization in producing a conformity-proneness in the children. Thus, even though the data do not support



our first hypothesis, our over-all position is strengthened by this finding. The fact that Hutterite children scored significantly lower than farm children was unexpected and poses a problem of explanation. Such an explanation will be attempted in a later chapter (see Chapter V); for the present we conclude that according to the terms of reference set out for this study, Hutterite socialization practices do not result in a more "conforming personality" as defined.

Earlier it was stated that three of the six "fixed" questions were of Type III, while the remaining three were of Type I and II (see page 33). The following four tables represent comparisons based on this distinction.

TABLE V

COMPARISON OF HUTTERITE AND NON-HUTTERITE FARM SUBJECTS ON THE BASIS OF GROUP CONFORMITY SCORES, TYPE III QUESTIONS ONLY

GROUP	N	$\bar{x}$	$\Sigma(\bar{x} - x)^2$	t	t at p=.01
HUTTERITE	12	.16	.286	3.10	2.82
FARM	12	.38	.383		

TABLE VI

COMPARISON OF HUTTERITE AND NON-HUTTERITE FARM SUBJECTS ON THE BASIS OF INDIVIDUAL CONFORMITY SCORES, TYPE III QUESTIONS ONLY

INDIVIDUALS	N	$\bar{x}$	$\Sigma(\bar{x} - x)^2$	t	t at p=.01
HUTTERITES	60	.16	7.319	3.14	2.62
FARM	60	.38	9.407		





TABLE VII

COMPARISON OF HUTTERITE AND NON-HUTTERITE FARM SUBJECTS ON THE BASIS OF GROUP CONFORMITY SCORES, TYPE I & II QUESTIONS ONLY

GROUP	N	$\bar{x}$	$\Sigma(\bar{x} - x)^2$	t	t at p=.01
HUTTERITE	12	.27	.438	3.47	2.82
FARM	12	.53	.309		

TABLE VIII

COMPARISON OF HUTTERITE AND NON-HUTTERITE FARM SUBJECTS ON THE BASIS OF INDIVIDUAL CONFORMITY SCORES, TYPE I & II QUESTIONS ONLY

INDIVIDUALS	N	$\bar{x}$	$\Sigma(\bar{x} - x)^2$	t	t at p=.01
HUTTERITE	60	.27	9.853	3.66	2.62
FARM	60	.52	7.948		

The results of these comparisons differ only slightly from the over-all results in Tables III and IV. In other words, Hutterite children conform significantly less than farm children on all three types of questions, and on an individual as well as group basis. Both groups (experimental and control) scored considerably higher on Type I and II questions than on Type III questions. One possible explanation of this latter phenomenon is that Type I and II questions were more difficult. Previous investigators have found that, "increases in susceptibility to conformity pressures . . . are related to increases in the difficulty of the materials presented."<sup>1</sup> However, a comparison of the relative

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1. Blake and Mouton, in Berg and Bass, 1961, op. cit., p. 10.





difficulty of the questions, assessed in terms of the number of incorrect responses, reveals that subjects in both groups found Type I and II "fixed" questions only slightly more difficult than Type III "fixed" questions. Table IX represents a breakdown of the percentage of incorrect responses recorded during part one of our test.

TABLE IX  
PERCENTAGE INCORRECT ANSWERS ON FIXED AND NON-FIXED QUESTIONS IN PART ONE OF CONFORMITY TEST

	All Questions	All Type I & II Questions	All Type III Questions	All fixed Questions	All Non-fixed Questions	Type III Fixed Questions	Type I & II Fixed Questions	Type III Non-fixed Questions	Type I & II Non-fixed Questions
HUTTERITE	10.4	10.0	11.0	20.0	5.6	18.3	21.7	5.4	5.6
FARM	7.0	7.4	6.4	12.5	4.3	12.2	12.8	2.1	5.2
TOTAL	8.7	8.7	8.7	16.3	5.0	15.3	17.3	3.8	5.4

It seems then that the higher conformity scores on Type I and II questions cannot be attributed to increased difficulty or ambiguity of the particular tasks involved. The alternative solution may well be that the issues involved in Type III questions do indeed "arouse individual feelings of personal commitment and group loyalty,"<sup>1</sup> and as a result are not as susceptible to group pressure.

The figures in Table IX also indicate that Hutterite children made more errors in all categories than did farm children. Without speculating as to the reasons for this, one can assume that Hutterite children found the questions more difficult, generally. In this regard, then, the situation for Hutterite children was different from that of farm children. Accordingly one might expect a corresponding difference in scores.

1. See page 35.





According to previous research, increased task difficulty results in increased conformity. Yet our findings show the opposite result.

Since the ages of our subjects ranged from 10 to 15 years, a breakdown of scores on the basis of this age difference is appropriate, the results of which are outlined in Table X, below.

TABLE X  
COMPARISON OF MEAN CONFORMITY SCORES FOR HUTTERITES AND NON-HUTTERITE FARM SUBJECTS ON THE BASIS OF AGE, ALL QUESTIONS

AGE CATEGORY	HUTTERITE	FARM
10 yrs to 11 yrs 11 mo	N=16 $\bar{x} = .24$	N=18 $\bar{x} = .43$
12 yrs to 13 yrs 11 mo	N=23 $\bar{x} = .27$	N=27 $\bar{x} = .48$
14 yrs to 15 yrs 11 mo	N=21 $\bar{x} = .14$	N=15 $\bar{x} = .44$

These figures closely parallel our earlier findings in that Hutterite subjects in all three age categories scored significantly lower than farm children. There is, however, a certain incongruity in the 14-15 year category in that Hutterite children show a marked decrease in the mean score which is not duplicated in the farm group. Whether or not this trend in the Hutterite group would continue in children over 16 years of age awaits to be discovered. Such verification would be relevant to our study since most defectors are in the 18-25 age range.

One final comparison between sexes is presented largely to illustrate the similarity of our findings to those reported by previous in-



investigators of conformity who, without exception, found females to be slightly more conforming than males.<sup>1</sup>

TABLE XI

COMPARISON OF MEAN CONFORMITY SCORES FOR HUTTERITES AND NON-HUTTERITE FARM SUBJECTS ON THE BASIS OF SEX, ALL QUESTIONS

	SEX	N	$\bar{x}$
HUTTERITE	F	30	.24
	M	30	.15
FARM	F	26	.55
	M	34	.40

#### B. Interview Results

Our search for defectors was not an easy undertaking. Colony members were hesitant to discuss the whereabouts of known deserters and most of our leads were supplied by other defectors, with the result that one defector would lead us to those others who were his friends and acquaintances. We have already mentioned the unfortunate consequence this had in that six of the respondents were members of the same family, and seven were from the same colony. Moreover, this particular colony is in some respects not typical of Hutterite colonies generally.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the seven respondents from the latter colony were familiar with the members and conditions on numerous other colonies and to this extent they were well-qualified respondents.

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1. Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey, 1962, op. cit., p.524.

2. See unpublished M. A. thesis by M. M. Mackie, cited on page 42.

The thesis deals at length with the particular colony in question.





It should be mentioned that six of the respondents were somewhat unique in that they abandoned colony life largely for religious reasons, having come to the conclusion that true salvation was lacking within the framework of Hutterite religion. This motive in defection is not, to our knowledge, representative of most deserters, and one might argue therefore, that the information elicited is biased accordingly. To this we can reply only that we failed to discern any real difference in the comments of those subjects who left for religious reasons and those who left for other reasons, on those questions relevant for our study. We conclude, then, that allowing for certain unavoidable inadequacies, the ten respondents interviewed constitute the best possible group of informants available.

Table XII below is a summary of some relevant characteristics of the ten respondents.

TABLE XII

SOME RELEVANT CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS\*

Respondent	Colony left	Age at defection	Age at time of interview	Years away from colony	Sex	Marital Status at time of interview
# 1	A	19	22	3	F	S
# 2	A	23	26	3	F	S
# 3	A	16	18	2	F	S
# 4	A	28	31	3	F	S
# 5	A	26	29	3	F	S
# 6	A	22	28	6	M	S
# 7	A	26	29	3	M	S
# 8	B	21	26	5	M	S
# 9	C	19	28	9	M	M
#10	D	34	57	23	M	M

\* #1 - 6 members of same family

#1 - 7 ex-members of same colony

#1 - 5 and #7 left colony for religious reasons





Table XIII outlines the job histories of the respondents, the approximate salaries received, educational qualifications,<sup>1</sup> and future occupational plans. Subjects are listed in the same order as in Table XII.

TABLE XIII  
JOB HISTORIES OF RESPONDENTS

Subject	Types of Jobs Held Since Defection	Approx. Salary/Month	Schooling	Future Plans
# 1	Laundry	\$130	Bible School & Some High Sch.	Teacher
# 2	Cleaning Girl, Laundry	\$120-\$130	Bible School	Housewife
# 3	Laundry, Beet Fields	\$130	Jr. High Sch.	Work on Farm
# 4	Bee Keeper, Beet Fields, Cannery	\$100-\$120	Bible School	Missionary
# 5	Beet Fields, Nurse's Aid Training	-	Bible School	Nurse's Aid
# 6	Farm Laborer	\$150-\$175	-	-
# 7	Farm Laborer, Laundry	\$100-\$160	Bible School	Missionary
# 8	Farm Laborer, Garage Attendant	\$150	-	Own a Farm
# 9	Farm Laborer, Farm Foreman	\$150-\$175	-	Rent a Farm
#10	Farm Laborer, Road Maintenance Machine Operator	-	-	Retired

1. Subjects, with one or two exceptions, had completed grade eight while still members of the colony. The "schooling" referred to in Table XIII includes any additional educational training received since leaving the colony.





Our third hypothesis states that fear of punishment does not operate as an effective deterrent against defection. One might argue that it is hardly necessary to test this statement since people who do defect permanently do not return to face the punishment. Yet numerous investigators cite the deterrent effect of punishment as playing a major role in the low defection rate. Such statements become plausible, however, by reasoning that Hutterites who are contemplating defection will also consider the possibility that they will either want to, or be forced to return. Should this eventuality develop, they would, of course, be subject to punishment. The question for the prospective deviant then, is, "Is it worth the risk? "

The interview schedule contained a number of questions designed to elicit information relevant to this question. The following are verbatim comments in answer to two of these questions.

Question #48: What sort of punishment did they[ i. e., returning defectors] get when they came back?

Subject #1: "If they had been baptized then they'd be ex-communicated and be taken up again . . . and if they weren't baptized then they usually had to stand during church services and things like that." (Q. Would you say that this is a pretty rough punishment?) "No, not really." (Q. Do you think people are worried about this punishment when they go back?) "No, I don't think so."

Subject #2: "The baptized members . . . were put into a certain ban





until they were willing to confess that they did wrong, and then they were accepted [back] into the fellowship of the community." (Q. What did this consist of?) "They couldn't eat with other people."

Subject #3: "They had to stand in church; probably for an hour." (Q. Do you think this is pretty strict punishment?) "No."

Subject #4: "Well, it depends on [whether they] are baptized. [If they are baptized] they ex-communicate them. They give them over to the devil until they repent and then come back and tell [that they] are sorry for their sin, and [then] they just take them up into church again. But those that are not baptized, they just stand there, maybe once or twice, during [church] services."

Subject #5: "They were held as outcasts, and you [i. e., the defector] had to ask them [i. e., the elders] for forgiveness and tell them that you really want to come back again."

Subject #6: "That's one thing I wouldn't know actually, because I never did go back to find out." (Jokingly.)

Subject #7: "Well . . . they really gotta say that they did sin and things like that."

Subject #8: "Oh, I don't know. I've been [away] so long I don't know what they do to them now."

Subject #9: "Well, I can tell you from my own experience. I had to stand in church." (Q. For how long?) "Well, from the time you come in[to church] it amounts to about an hour and a half." (Q. For just one service?) "Yeah, that's all."





Subject #10: "If he was a baptized person . . . he was excluded for awhile . . . he can't mix . . . you're on trial for a month or so. If he was a young fellow [who] never was baptized, well, they did nothing to him."

From these comments and from additional information obtained from colony leaders, we conclude that punishment for defectors depends on whether or not the individual is a baptized member of the colony. If he is baptized, a period of "shunning" is imposed on the prodigal member, during which time he is not allowed to join the rest of the members during meals, church services, etc. This is a period during which the returned defector is expected to contemplate the gravity of his error, and adopt a repentant attitude. He is not reinstated from his exile until he makes a public confession of his guilt and acknowledges that he is prepared to live up to colony standards and ideals.

For non-baptized defectors the punishment is less severe, consisting essentially of a shame technique. Such individuals are required to stand during one or more church services while everyone else is seated.

Two of the subjects indicated in their comments that they did not consider this punishment very severe. Question #49 deals more specifically with this aspect of the problem.

Question #49: Did this [punishment] in any way make you afraid about



leaving yourself?

Subject #1: "Oh, no."

Subject #2: "No. I actually did not think too much of these things."

Subject #3: "No."

Subject #4: "Well, this kind of punishment I didn't think very much of. I didn't care too much about their punishment."

Subject #5: "No, it didn't."

Subject #6: "No."

Subject #7: "No."

Subject #8: "No. It never bothered me too much."

Subject #9: "No, that didn't bother me. The minister is standing up [during church services] all the time, so why shouldn't I stand up too? . . . I was young; I couldn't [have] cared less."

Subject #10: "No."

The ten respondents are unanimous in stating that fear of punishment was not a serious consideration for them while contemplating defection. Our own observations and discussions with returned defectors tend to support this attitude. Many regard the "standing in church" routine as little more than a joke, and we certainly failed to find any evidence that this particular form of punishment had a deterrent effect. In fact, we found that returning defectors were almost treated as heroes in many cases,<sup>1</sup> especially by their peers. This is not to say, however,

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1. Subject #9 at one point during the interview stated that returning defectors, rather than being repentant for their actions, "acted like big shots," and bragged of their adventures on the "outside."





that sanctions do not operate to reduce milder forms of deviance that occur on the colony. Our hypothesis makes specific reference to defection, and in this regard the data support the hypothesis.

Our final hypothesis proposes that the single most important determinant of the low rate of defection is the lack of a readily accessible alternative. A number of questions were asked of defectors to test the validity of this statement. The most relevant of these questions along with the respondents' answers are outlined below.

Questions #93 and #94: Do you know any Hutterites living on the colony who have at any time seriously thought about leaving? If so, do you know why they actually never did leave?

Subject #1: "Yes, I do. I guess it's their parents mostly."

Subject #2: "Yes, some do. I think that this is more with boys though, than girls. I think it's the fear of being lost as far as religion is concerned. Since they have been taught from their youth that the colony way of life is the way to have it . . . they would have this fear of being lost."

Subject #3: "Yes. They don't want to leave their parents."

Subject #4: "Well, I'm sure there are quite a few who think about leaving but the thing is they are afraid they won't be able to make their living. That's why they never leave."

Subject #5: "Well, there are many that think about leaving, but it's such an easy life that they don't want to leave."





Subject #6: "Yep, lots of them. You really gotta get out and stand on your own two legs . . . if you haven't got that grind behind you, well, there's just some fear in you. And as long as you keep this fear in you, well, you never can make a go of it."

Subject #7: "I think so. Yeah there were some. Actually, I think they're scared of making or meeting their finances." (Q. Do you think that worries them more than religion?) "Oh, yes. They're more worried about how they're going to get along."

Subject #8: "They usually don't tell anybody when they're going to [ leave ]"

Subject #9: "Oh there are lots of them that just talked about it, and that's about as far as it got. Those that did leave, they all came back. I guess it's the same way as it was with me. I mean you just don't know how you're going to be taken up outside, and how you're going to be able to make it, and stuff like that, I guess; and they're just scared or something."

Subject #10: "I wouldn't know that."

Eight of the ten respondents agree, with varying intensity, that there are Hutterites living on the colony who have seriously thought about leaving, while the remaining two had no definite opinion. Five of the eight make explicit reference to the fact that the alternative to colony life is not pleasant in certain respects, pointing out some of the difficulties encountered by defectors. Two respon-





dents felt that the attachment to parents is the major determinant,<sup>1</sup> and one makes reference to internalized religious beliefs. This latter response by subject #2, however, also includes a reference to the fact that more boys than girls contemplate defection. Although the respondent was not asked why this should be so, part of the answer may well lie in the fact that a male has a considerably better chance than a female of being successful in the larger society. To the extent that this is true, the statement by subject #2 is perhaps somewhat inconsistent.

It is interesting to note that not one of the respondents makes reference to punishment as the reason why these individuals never actually leave. This is further indirect evidence in support of our third hypothesis.

Further data to test our fourth hypothesis were supplied by the respondents' answers to question #123, especially by subject #10.

Question #123: If you had the chance, would you do it over again[ i.e., leave the colony ]?

Seven of the respondents answered in the affirmative, one wasn't sure, and subjects #6 and #10 replied as follows.

Subject #6: "If I had the chance there wouldn't gonna be a colony, I think."

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1. Nye's "indirect control" (i.e., "not wanting to hurt or go against the wishes of parents") is relevant here. See page 22.





Subject #10: "No, not unless I got lots of money and could take a trip around the world. A person having to go out and live like I live now, I'd rather stay there [on the colony] . . . I sure as heck wouldn't want to go out and work again like I did." (As can be seen from Table XII on page 53, subject #10 is 57 years old and has been off the colony for 23 years.)

One of the affirmative answers (by subject #4) was supplemented by the remark, "I would leave when I was fifteen, and then I could go to high school. Now I've missed many years of schooling and have to start again." Thus all of the respondents except #10, felt that their defection had been worth the trouble, although it was pointed out by subject #4 that her lack of education had placed her at a disadvantage in the larger society. Subject #10, having lived in the "world" for over twenty years, was perhaps best qualified to comment on the advantages or disadvantages of leaving the colony. Speaking from many years of experience, he states that he would not leave again unless he were financially better equipped. These remarks again lend support to our stated position that the alternative to colony life, though in many respects very attractive (as is evidenced by the number of affirmative answers), is, due to lack of adequate preparation, accessible only at considerable cost.

Question #100: The hardest thing about living outside the colony is  
          ?          .





Seven of the respondents mentioned "hard work" and financial worries, two felt that nothing was really too hard, while one (#10) cited the lack of companionship as the most trying aspect of life outside the colony. The following are some of their remarks.

Subject #8: "Well, it's getting used [to things] after you leave . . . It takes about a year to get used to it. You work harder after you leave. If you want to hold a job like, very few farmers will hire you if you can't work. They just won't have you around."

Subject #9: "The hardest thing I find is you gotta make sure you get a steady job, or else there's nobody to feed ya. You gotta feed yourself and that's all there's to it. . . . You gotta have that money comin' in every month or else you're gonna be bummin' around the street or some place."

Subject #10: "I would say companionship. If you are used to companionship, you know, being with them all the time, and all at once move away, you miss that."

Question #72: Would you advise others to leave? Why or why not?

Three respondents gave definite affirmative answers, one replied negatively, and six either felt it was not proper for them to give advice in such a matter, or else that such advice could be given only with more information of specific cases (i.e., "it all depends" . . . type of answer). Some relevant comments follow.

Subject #4: "Well, . . . they're not used to working. Like in the colony you don't work as hard. Some who do leave get so discouraged



because of the work. I know myself last summer, so many times I said to myself: 'Oh you're so silly. You could be sitting at home [on the colony] in the shade. Here you have to work!' We're used to this kind of easy living, and then to have to turn over into another way is very hard."

Subject #10: "All depends on who they were. If they were professors and could make an easy buck outside, I would. But not try to go out and make a living laboring."

In reply to questions regarding their adjustment to life outside the colony, some typical remarks were:

"When you go to town you wonder if people look at you in a different way, you talk differently, and stuff like that."

"I mean, I don't like to walk along the street and hear them say, 'He's a Hutterite.'"

"For one thing, Your English isn't as good as everybody else's is. They know right away that you're not from the outside; and a lot of other things you do. Everything's quite a bit different from the colony. Driving a tractor is the same thing, but then a lot of things is a lot different."

"Naturally it's a lot harder life outside than in the colony." (Q. Did you know this before you left?) "I certainly did. Out there it's just you. If you get sick or something, it's just you. In the colony . . . he isn't even missed. But on the outside it's a different case."

Additional questions and answers could be cited whose content is very similar to the material already presented. Suffice it to





say that the general climate of opinion of the ten respondents fairly decisively supports our hypothesis. Judging from the comments and the job information in Table XIII, one would have to conclude that defectors must look forward to a "rigorous initiation" into the highly competitive and individualistic larger society. That this state of affairs operates as the major deterrent to defection is demonstrated fairly conclusively by the remarks of the subjects.



## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

As stated earlier, our problem was to investigate and attempt to explain the very low rate of defection from Hutterite colonies in Alberta. To guide our research we set out four hypotheses which state essentially that Hutterite socialization practices (as a method of indoctrination in religious values) cannot be credited with this lack of defection; that the threat of punishment does not operate as an effective deterrent either, but that what does operate very successfully to prevent defection is the lack of a readily accessible alternative to colony life.

To test the efficacy of Hutterite socialization practices, we made an attempt to measure the degree to which Hutterite children, in comparison to non-Hutterite farm children, exhibited conformity as a personality trait. Using a "panel-of-lights" technique to measure conformity to group pressure, and holding situational factors constant insofar as possible, we obtained conformity scores for Hutterite children which were significantly lower than those of the control group. On this basis we concluded that Hutterite socialization practices do not result in conformity as a personality trait to





any significant extent.<sup>1</sup>

The deterrent power of punishment as it applies to the process of defection was assessed on the basis of interview data. These data were obtained through interviews with ten permanent defectors living in Alberta. Our findings point rather convincingly to the ineffectiveness of punishment as a deterrent.

Having thus discarded Hutterite indoctrination and punishment as deterrents to defection, we then attempted to account for the low rate of defection in terms of the accessibility of an alternative to colony life. Again using the interview data, we presented evidence that the process of leaving the colony in favor of life in the larger society is made difficult by a number of factors which operate to keep members in the colony. At the same time, the data provided supplementary evidence in support of our first and second hypotheses in that re-

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1. Mr. J. W. Bulcock (Department of Sociology, University of Alberta, Edmonton), who collaborated with the writer in the conformity aspect of the present study, administered the same test under identical conditions to a sample of Mennonite children. In contrast to Hutterite children, Bulcock found that Mennonite children scored significantly higher than non-Mennonite farm children. This seems to lend support to the view that we were, in fact, measuring a personality characteristic, and that Hutterite children do not possess this trait to any significant degree. Interested readers are encouraged to refer to the Bulcock study (M. A. thesis, title not yet determined) which will be available in May, 1966. The thesis deals at length with the problem of conformity as it applies to Hutterites, Mennonites, suburbanites, and rural farm children.





spondents generally agreed that there are a good number of Hutterites who contemplate defection, but fail to carry out their plans, or else leave and return after a short period of "trying the world." One would hardly expect this to be the case in a group where socialization practices did in fact result in an internalized conviction that their particular way of life was superior.

These findings suggest some interesting problems for further study which are not crucial to our hypotheses, but perhaps warrant discussion. For example, how might one explain the fact that Hutterite conformity scores were significantly lower than those of farm children? As was pointed out earlier, this finding refutes our hypothesis which states that there is no significant difference, although it supports our general position that Hutterite children are not characterized by a conforming personality. Such an unexpected reversal in our findings requires an attempt at explanation, and for one possible solution to the problem we refer to the following statement by H. M. Johnson.

"An ambivalent person may 'permanently' repress the negative or alienative side of his motivation, may repress the conformative side, or may vacillate, one side being regnant for a time and the other breaking through. But whichever of these 'solutions' prevails, settled ambivalence toward a norm often leads to deviation when the opportunity exists."<sup>1</sup>

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1. H. M. Johnson, Sociology: A Systematic Introduction, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1960, p. 563.

This discussion of ambivalence by Johnson is based directly on the work of Talcott Parsons, The Social System, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1951, especially chapter seven.





In these terms it is possible to see how ambivalence might lead to "underconformity" in that such behavior represents the breaking through to expression of a repressed element of motivation.

"Any ambivalent structure in the personality - whether it involves persons primarily or norms primarily - can be relatively focalized or relatively generalized. This means that the object of ambivalence, personal or normative, may range from something very specific to a very broad class of objects (such as all persons having any kind of authority)."<sup>1</sup>

Assuming then, that Hutterite children have internalized certain of the values and goals of the host society, they will harbor a certain ambivalence toward the values and goals of their own group. The alienative side of this ambivalence is effectively suppressed, however, through the constant threat of physical punishment, while the conformative side is encouraged. Thus, in routine daily activities, the Hutterite youngster, for all intents and purposes, is a conformist. Given the opportunity, without fear of recrimination, to express the alienative side, however, he tends to move to the opposite extreme, hence the very low conformity scores. Non-Hutterite farm children on the other hand, who are not subject to such a forced repression of non-conformity, react more "normally" to a group pressure situation in that they do not perceive it as an opportunity to express repressed feelings.

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1. Ibid., p.565.



This comes close to saying that Hutterite children, in our testing situation, reacted in a fashion termed as "counterformity" by Crutchfield.

"This is the case in which the person is actively opposing the group, being negativistic, hostile, compulsively dissenting from it. The counterformist not only resists having his judgments and actions move toward those of the group; his judgments and actions tend to be repelled by the group norms; he seeks to widen disagreement between himself and the group. The counterformist may thus be driven at all costs to repudiate the group's beliefs or actions even when he perceives that the group is right."<sup>1</sup>

According to this definition the Hutterite subjects we tested could hardly be described as "counterformists," but an element of this tendency toward deliberate non-conformity may well have been present.

Crutchfield also lends support to the possibility that Hutterite children may be forced to conform in daily life, in the following statements.

"In some 'real life' situations it is quite possible that larger groups can produce additional conformity above and beyond that produced by somewhat smaller groups simply because the threat of reprisal to the deviant individual can be made stronger the larger the group."<sup>2</sup>

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1. Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey, 1962, op. cit., p. 507.  
2. Ibid., p. 513.





"The extent of conformity will also depend heavily upon the strength of coercion exerted by the group. Explicit threats of reprisal for resisting or explicit promises of reward for conforming may have powerful influence."<sup>1</sup>

In our particular testing situation Hutterite subjects found themselves in a small group without any threat of reprisal for non-conformity. Consequently they may have perceived this as an opportunity to satisfy certain "needs" or "wants."<sup>2</sup> Such an explanation of the low conformity scores is compatible, of course, with our de-emphasis of indoctrination in religious values. However, as outlined above, the proposed solution does not readily lend itself to empirical test, and can be regarded only as an initial formulation of possible future research.

An alternative hypothesis to account for the low Hutterite conformity scores, and one that does permit of test, is that Hutterite socialization develops "character" where one commonly accepted sign of "character" is the ability to say "no" (i.e., to resist conformist pressure). As was pointed out in the introduction, adequate socialization need not result in conformity; it can also be an instrument for the induction of non-conformity. Hence, Hutterite socialization could be effective and lead to the development of a "pressure-resistant"

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1. Ibid., p. 514.

2. Ibid., pp. 519-520.



personality.<sup>1</sup>

In one sense such an explanation of the apparent lack of motivation to conform seems unlikely in an environment that appears to place a high value on submissiveness and obedience. It is possible, however, that independence of judgment may be an unanticipated consequence of a socialization process that, at the same time, strives toward the acceptance of the group's norms.

It is evident from some of our findings that what Nye terms "indirect control" (i. e., "not wanting to hurt or go against the wishes of parents") is definitely a factor to be considered in the low rate of defection. It seems only natural that an individual planning to desert the colony will seriously consider the consequences of such action in the light of existing family and friendship ties. The influence of such "indirect control," however, must not be over-estimated. All of the defectors interviewed stated that they made visits to the colony they left on a fairly regular basis. This would indicate that the defection process does not entail a total break with friends and relatives who remain on the colony. Moreover, when asked what was the hardest thing about living away from the colony, only one of the respondents mentioned "companionship," and only in general terms, not with re-

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1. The writer is indebted to Dr. G. Nettler for bringing this possibility to our attention.





ference to particular individuals on the colony. But again, an accurate assessment of the deterrent effect of such "indirect control" awaits further research.

Additional clarification with regard to the role of punishment as a deterrent is perhaps warranted. According to Table XII (page 53), the mean age at the time of defection for the ten respondents is 23.9 years. Additional information about defectors obtained through observation and from colony leaders indicates that the overwhelming majority of defectors are in the 18 - 25 year age range. Certain implications of this fact are quite obvious. Children up to the age of sixteen are still subject to physical punishment which, according to our observations, is applied fairly liberally. This type of punishment is clearly in a different category than the "shunning" and "standing in church" techniques discussed earlier; and there is no doubt that the threat of the strap is an effective deterrent against deviant acts other than defection in the below-sixteen age group. Defection, of course, is out of the question for individuals under 16 years of age and probably to age 18, for obvious reasons. Most Hutterites are married by the time they reach the age of 25, and one can readily foresee the compounded problems of a married man contemplating defection, especially if he has children. To quote one defector in this regard, "Next thing you know, he's married, and has kids, and that's it!"



As an individual Hutterite grows older he becomes increasingly involved in, and committed to, colony life. Chances are good that he will be entrusted with greater responsibilities which will gain him increased privileges and respect. Also, the longer an individual remains on a colony, the greater becomes his investment in it. Since defectors are not entitled to their share of the colony's assets, defection after the age of 25 involves taking an increasingly larger financial loss.

The critical period then, as concerns defection, is between 18 and 25 years of age. During this time the individual has the least to lose and perhaps the most to gain by defecting. An analysis of the deterrent influence of various forms of punishment must, therefore, concentrate on this age range. According to our information "shunning" and "standing in church" are the sole forms of punishment meted out to individuals who attempt defection during this period, and the evidence indicates clearly that these cannot be regarded as serious deterrents.

Professor Eaton has stated that, "The growing Hutterite child is molded . . . [into] an adult who will live in conformity with the expectations of the Hutterite way of life."<sup>1</sup> Our own findings suggest

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1. Eaton and Weil, 1955, op. cit., p. 126.





that it is the situation rather than the child that is "molded" in a fashion that results in "forced" conformity. To the extent that our data are valid and reliable, and within the limits of their generalizability, we would conclude that considerable numbers<sup>1</sup> of Hutterite individuals between the ages of 18 and 25 years would leave the colonies to become members of the larger society if this alternative were readily accessible to them. The evidence indicates that the Hutterites appear to be failing in their attempts to instill in their children an internalized commitment to religious values, but that they have thus far been highly successful in manipulating situational factors to offset this failure.

The Hutterites' de-emphasis of education has contributed significantly to colony cohesion, as has their refusal to allow defecting members to claim a share of colony assets. At a time when the "ways of the world" are becoming increasingly tempting to Hutterite young people, colony leaders are hard put to find ways of maintaining the stability that has characterized their sect for centuries. The existing legislation in Alberta regulating Hutterite land purchases<sup>2</sup> has no doubt

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1. An accurate estimate of the number of individuals in this category would be a worthwhile object of a separate study.
  2. For a review of the existing land legislation and its history in Alberta and elsewhere, see P. K. Conkin, 1964, op. cit., especially chapter 3, pp. 49-76; also D. E. Saunders, "The Hutterites: A Case Study in Minority Rights," The Canadian Bar Review, May, 1964, pp. 225-242.





served colony leaders well as a weapon in their battle against assimilation; for here is an outstanding example of the essential "wickedness" of that very same "world" which superficially appears so attractive. As one colony leader told us, "Jesus said they hated me, and they're gonna hate you too. But that's a sure sign that we are the true disciples of Christ," and he added somberly, "Writing about the Hutterites won't save you; you have to live like them. We are the light of the world, the true followers of Christ."

The land-buying restrictions may also have had a further unanticipated consequence. A prominent theme running through the comments of the defectors is the "hard work" aspect of life outside the colony. The ten respondents almost unanimously emphasized the difficulty in adjusting to the more stringent work requirements of the larger society. As one defector put it, "They don't know what work is back there [on the colony]." It seems that the Hutterites, who for centuries were characteristically described as being highly industrious, now lead a life which is more leisurely than that of most other people in North America; and the reasons are no mystery. The very high birth rate,<sup>1</sup> along with increased mechanization, have resulted in surplus manpower,<sup>2</sup> a trend which is likely to continue unless

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1. See J. W. Eaton and A. J. Mayer, Man's Capacity to Reproduce: The Demography of a Unique Population, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1954.

2. The practice of "hiring out" young men to neighboring farmers, especially during harvest, is becoming quite common in many of Alberta's Hutterite colonies.





colonies are free to increase their land-holdings.

One important limitation of our study concerns the generalizability of our findings. It has already been noted that the Hutterite children tested for conformity were not selected randomly and represented only the Dariusleut group in Alberta, while the ten defectors interviewed represented only four colonies. The implications of this limited representation are difficult to assess in that the significance of colony variation has not yet been established. The data from the various sources do, however, tend to reinforce each other in a fairly consistent pattern which can be related to the over-all situation (see Chapter VI); and to this extent our findings represent a contribution to our knowledge of the Hutterite sect.

In addition, we would like to think that our study is significant also in that it (1) constitutes a test of the work of Merton and Cloward regarding "opportunity structures." According to our findings the relative availability of an alternative operates as a significant determinant of conformity and deviance in the Hutterite context. (2) The study employs what we consider to be an improved version of the Crutchfield technique for measuring conformity to group pressure. (3) The study may have useful implications for future investigations of cross-cultural conformity rates.





## CHAPTER VI

### SOME IMPLICATIONS

Our conclusions regarding the relative ineffectiveness of Hutterite socialization practices as a value-transmitting process may appear, to some readers, to be inconsistent with the popular image of Hutterites as devout members of a fundamental religious sect. For this reason we deem it appropriate to outline our views as to how one might reconcile the findings of this study with the over-all picture of Hutterite society. We hasten to point out, however, that many of our "sweeping generalizations" are not based on a systematic program of research and should be considered as nothing more than "educated speculations" based on fairly intensive observation of the Hutterites over a period of a good many years. The justification for concluding this thesis on a speculative note inheres largely in the hope that it will serve, first of all, to clarify or make more comprehensible the findings of this study; and secondly, that it may provide some guides for further research.

We might begin by asking two questions. 1). What is the content of that which Hutterites are attempting to transmit to their children? 2). How is this transmission effected? The first question involves an analysis of Hutterite religious values, their moral code, or, using Malinowski's term, their "charter."<sup>1</sup> Malinowski defines "char-

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1. B. Malinowski, A Scientific Theory of Culture, The University of North Carolina Press, 1944.





ter" as, "the system of values for the pursuit of which human beings organize, or enter organizations already existing."<sup>1</sup> Mizruchi,<sup>2</sup> in dealing with Malinowski's concept of "charter" states: ". . . it involves more than the end to be obtained . . . It represents legitimation for the group's activities and rationalization for the individual's behavior. It is a statement of purpose, as well as ideology."<sup>3</sup> He goes to to say:

"What we are emphasizing here is the dual role charter plays in the life of the individual. On one hand, it is a means for indoctrinating him with the community's goals . . . On the other, charter provides justification for which the real motives may not be normatively acceptable to the rest of the group."<sup>4</sup>

On this basis Mizruchi later concludes: "Social life is thus characterized, not only by activities based on expediency, but by feelings of moral obligations as well. The individual conforms out of fear of punishment and because certain acts seem to him morally right."<sup>5</sup>

John Ladd,<sup>6</sup> in discussing the functions of a moral code states the following:

"It is evident that a moral code is supposed to

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1. Ibid., p. 52.

2. E. H. Mizruchi, Success and Opportunity, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964.

3. Ibid., p. 18.

4. Ibid., p. 18.

5. Ibid., p. 19.

6. John Ladd, The Structure of a Moral Code, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957.



have an actual effect upon the individual's conduct and discourse (including his emotional attitudes). That ethical prescriptions do not always have this effect is obvious. The degree to which the prescriptions of a code do determine an agent's actions or forbearances (as well as his emotional reactions) I have termed its 'operational efficacy'.<sup>1</sup>

"... it should be obvious that a prerequisite to a moral code's having any social consequences whatsoever is that it have a modicum of operational efficacy among a sizeable number of the members of that society."<sup>2</sup>

(Note: Both writers (Mizruchi and Ladd) acknowledge their indebtedness to the work of Merton<sup>3</sup> concerning "manifest" and "latent" functions.)

Following Mizruchi and Ladd, then, we would say, first of all, that the Hutterite moral code does, in fact, have a certain "operational efficacy." The question still remains, however, as to which of the two roles of the charter (i. e., "statement of purpose" vs. "ideology") underlies this efficacy. In other words, is Hutterite social life characterized primarily by "attitudes based on expediency" or by "feelings of moral obligation?"

Professor Eaton clearly favors the "moral obligation" approach, viz., "The entire Hutterite way of life is infused with religious significance."<sup>4</sup>

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1. Ibid., pp. 317-318.

2. Ibid., p. 319.

3. R. K. Merton, 1957, op. cit., esp. Ch. I, pp. 19-84.

4. Eaton and Weil, 1955, op. cit., p. 175.





"The survival of the 16th century Hutterite peasant culture in the heart of the most 20th century-minded continent is a vivid demonstration of the power of values and beliefs."<sup>1</sup>

". . . as a group they provided an extreme example of the relative importance of ideology and belief."<sup>2</sup>

Professor Eaton's views closely parallel those of a number of other writers who invariably refer to the Hutterites as "fundamentalists." Insofar as the term "fundamentalist" refers to belief in a more literal adherence to biblical precepts, the Hutterites do indeed qualify. However, we cannot agree that the Hutterites are fundamentalists to the extent that the term denotes a thoroughgoing commitment to religious values as ends in themselves. One recent writer who also takes issue with the "fundamentalist view" of Hutterites is Conkin.

"They [the Hutterites] are living demonstrations also of an extremely conservative and orthodox (not fundamentalist) type of Christianity . . . "<sup>3</sup>

Unfortunately, the remainder of Conkin's work does not indicate on what basis he makes this distinction. Although, "Some of their customs are merely traditional; most involve deeply held religious convictions."<sup>4</sup> Later on, however, Conkin states that, "In worship as elsewhere, tradition is more important than relevance."<sup>5</sup> And he

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1. Ibid., p. 182.

2. Ibid., p. 181.

3. P. K. Conkin, 1964, op. cit., p. vii.

4. Ibid., p. 76.

5. Ibid., p. 84.



concludes:

"Their name, their separate religious identity, their more distinctive customs and rituals -- in fact the whole empty shell of their ideology and faith -- will remain for endless generations. Total creeds rarely die, although they may be destroyed or slowly lose their meaning. Whether, or how rapidly, the Hutterite religion will lose its essential meaning is beyond prediction."<sup>1</sup>

Conkin appears to vacillate between "tradition" and "religious conviction" as being most characteristic of Hutterite adherence to the "charter." We would have thought that, to be an "empty shell," the "essential meaning" of Hutterite religion would first have to be lost. At any rate, Conkin comes close to saying something that, in our opinion, should have been said a long time ago; namely that Hutterite religion is, in many respects, an "empty shell."<sup>2</sup>

However that may be, there are certainly some important differences between the Hutterites and other religious denominations which are commonly included under the rubric, "fundamentalist." To illustrate, the pronounced emphasis on "conversion" (i. e., being

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1. Ibid., p. 100.

2. Most authorities do not agree with this view. Dr. J. A. Hostetler, in reviewing Conkin's book (Mennonite Quarterly Review, Oct., 1965, p. 324), takes issue with Conkin's "empty shell" statement and states that it "appears to be a value judgment that is perhaps all too typical of the viewpoint of outsiders." Dr. Hostetler feels, however, that generally "the treatment is based on the foremost sources and reflects an excellent combination of facts and literary skill."





"born again" or "saved") as a basic prerequisite to salvation which characterizes fundamentalists, is entirely lacking among the Hutterites, who emphasize instead a "good works" doctrine (i.e., the notion that individuals who abide by the rules are more or less assured of salvation). Consequently the Hutterites evidence none of the "missionary zeal" so pronounced among fundamentalists, and this lack of religious fervor and enthusiasm, in our opinion, pervades the whole of Hutterite attitudes toward religion. There is little evidence of any deeply-held religious convictions other than in verbalization. Prayer meetings, testimonials, revival rallies, etc., which are all regular items in the apparatus of the fundamentalist sect, are not part of Hutterite worship. The spirit that imbued martyrs of the early Hutterite church has largely faded away. In its place there is a tradition-bound, complacent, and ritualized church.

This process of "erosion," of course, is not peculiar to the Hutterites alone. "An intense personal religious experience is almost always present in the originators of communal orders or sects, giving an existential as well as an authoritarian or a rational foundation, but this existential element rarely survives for more than two or three generations."<sup>1</sup> A member of one of the "excommunicated"

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1. P. K. Conkin, 1964, op. cit., p. vii.



colonies in Alberta phrased it this way: "Colonies have become organizations, and true Christianity is not an organization. Not that their [Hutterite] religion teaches that, but as it happens with most churches when they get older, like the Catholic, they become organizations."

Robert Merton points out two polar types of malintegrated culture.<sup>1</sup> In the first there develops "a very heavy, at times a virtually exclusive, stress upon the value of particular goals, involving comparatively little concern with the institutionally prescribed means of striving toward these goals."<sup>2</sup>

"A second polar type is found in groups where activities originally conceived as instrumental are transmuted into self-contained practices, lacking further objectives. The original purposes are forgotten and close adherence to institutionally prescribed conduct becomes a matter of ritual. . . . Since the range of alternative behaviors permitted by the culture is severely limited, there is little basis for adapting to new conditions. There develops a tradition-bound, 'sacred' society marked by neophobia."<sup>3</sup>

Merton goes on to say, "Contemporary American culture appears to approximate the polar type in which great emphasis upon certain success-goals occurs without equivalent emphasis upon institutional means."<sup>4</sup> Our own observations lead us to conclude that contemporary

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1. R. K. Merton, 1957, op. cit., Ch. 4, pp. 131-161.

2. Ibid., p. 133.

3. Ibid., pp. 133-134.

4. Ibid., p. 136.





Hutterite society is moving toward the opposite polar type.

This tendency toward a transmutation of the means-ends relationship may well be the result of Hutterite attempts to maintain their separation from the "world." Modern methods of communication and travel have had the inevitable consequence of bringing the Hutterites into closer contact with the larger society. In an attempt to restore the line of demarcation between themselves and the outside world, the Hutterites have gradually, and perhaps unconsciously, moved toward the acceptance of a means-ends relationship which is the polar opposite to that common to the host culture.

Referring back to Mizruchi and Ladd then, the Hutterite "charter" has become their "excuse" for living communally (i. e., religious values and beliefs help justify economic activities). In the main, Hutterite attitudes toward communal living are based on "expediency" rather than on "feelings of moral obligation."

The second of our two questions posed at the beginning of this chapter, makes reference to Hutterite socialization techniques. Let us now review briefly the indoctrination methods employed in this process.

Religious instruction for Hutterite children begins formally at age 2 and 1/2 years in Kindergarten (or Kleine Schul). At the age



of 6 they transfer to the "German School" (or Grosse Schul) where they remain until age 15.<sup>1</sup> In addition there is the Sunday School which they must attend until the time of baptism. The curriculum of these instruction agencies consists largely of lengthy songs and prayers of 16th century vintage which must be methodically memorized by the children and recited, frequently in unison. The real meaning of much of the memory work almost certainly escapes the children. The daily church services are aptly described by Conkin as follows. "The audience stands for the scripture, which is almost chanted and is probably not understood by most in the congregation. . . . Even the sermons, endlessly repeated in a literary instead of the colloquial German, are more ritualistic than instructive."<sup>2</sup>

Vold,<sup>3</sup> in his discussion of learning, states:

"Always there is an intangible, subjective problem of whether or not the individual 'tries to learn,' whether or not he is 'interested.' Mere repetitive behavior, without attention or interest, does not lead to learning. . . . With the proper 'attitude-set' learning takes place rapidly, insofar as ability permits; without the appropriate attitude, repetition of behavior may go on endlessly without learning."<sup>4</sup>

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1. Conkin describes the present "German School" as "a rather pathetic remnant of their old German Schools." Ibid., p. 85.

2. Ibid., p. 84.

3. G. B. Vold, Theoretical Criminology, New York: Oxford University Press, 1958.

4. Ibid., pp. 185-186.





A religion lacking most of its original ideals and transmitted to the children via a meaningless method of rote memorization cannot, in our opinion, account for the low rate of Hutterite defection.

Question #12 on the conformity test read as follows:

Which is most important?

- A. To treat others the way you would like them to treat you.
- B. To wash before going to bed.
- C. Always try to be on time.

Answers to this question in part one of the test were distributed as follows:

<u>Hutterites:</u>	A. 74.3%	Farm:	A. 95.0%
	B. 17.1%		B. 0 %
	C. 8.6%		C. 5 %

The "Golden Rule" is a basic tenet of Hutterite religion, and their commitment to pacificism is at least partly based on this very precept.<sup>1</sup> One would expect, therefore, that Hutterite children would have little difficulty choosing "A" above as being the most important. Yet the figures indicate that farm children were considerably more consistent in choosing "A" than were Hutterite children. Other of the Type I questions yielded similar response patterns. These findings, we submit, can hardly be interpreted as illustrating a thorough indoctrination in Hutterite religious values; at least not as these values are set out in the Confession of Faith.

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1. Peter Rideman, Confession of Faith, op. cit., p. 108, "Concerning Warfare."





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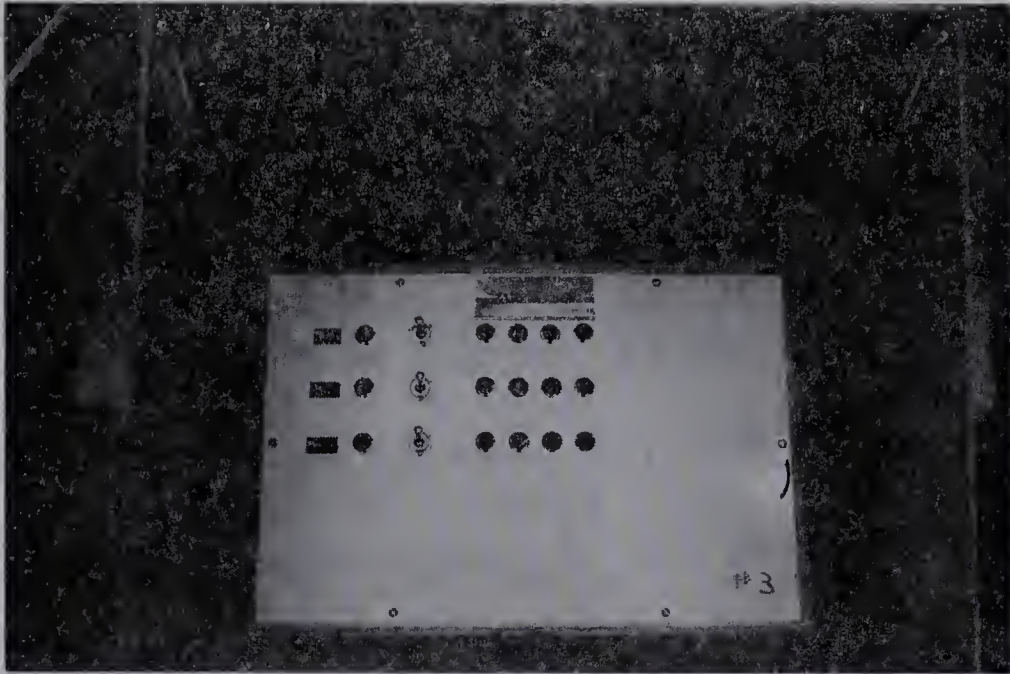
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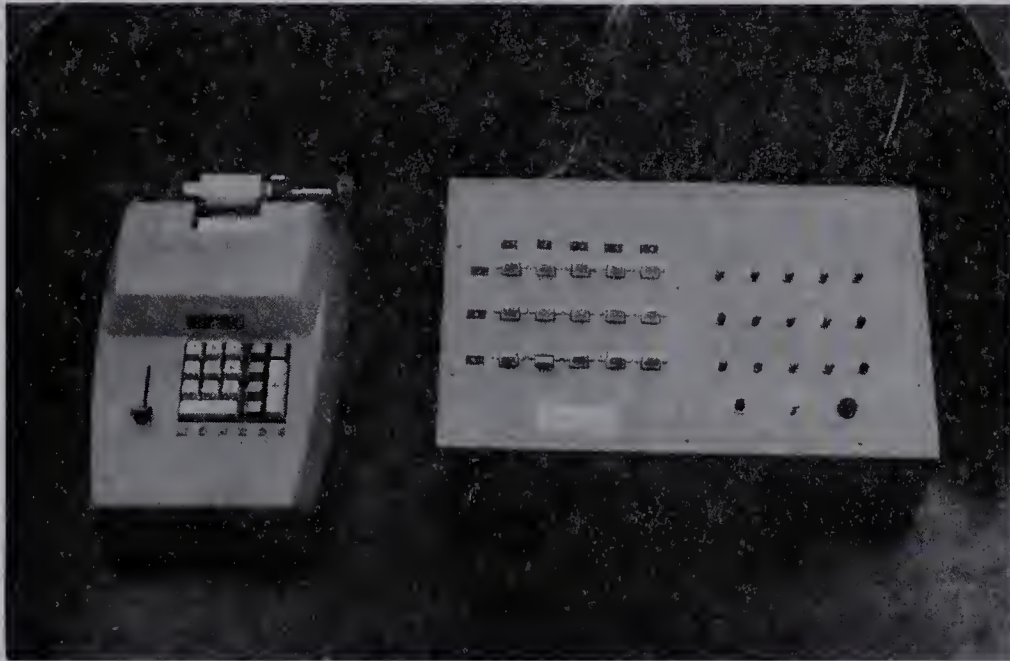




# APPENDIX I



Subject Panel



Control Panel



Equipment Set-up



APPENDIX II  
CONFORMITY TEST INSTRUCTIONS

PREAMBLE. This morning you are going to take part in an experiment conducted by Mr. Boldt and Mr. Bulcock. We are research workers in Sociology from the University of Alberta in Edmonton. We are trying to do two things. First, we will be testing your powers of visual perception. This means we are trying to find out how good you are at judging the things you see. Secondly, we will be testing your powers of ethical judgment. This means we are trying to find out how good you are at judging the difference between right and wrong.

In this test the mark you make will be compared with the marks made by pupils in schools all across the Province of Alberta. It is important that you try your best to get a high score and not disappoint your teacher or your school. We want you to do well and will do everything we can to help you, within the rules of the test. Now listen to the instructions which have been recorded.

TAPED INSTRUCTIONS. Here are your instructions. Please listen carefully and be sure to ask questions if you do not understand.

In front of each one of you is a panel. The panel has three switches, three red lights, and twelve green lights. Above the green lights are the names of your friends who are seated at the other panels. Now if you'll look at the three switches on the left-hand side of your panels, you'll see that they are lettered A, B, and C, from top





to bottom. We are going to show you 18 questions on the screen in front of you. Each question will have three possible answers, but only one of the three answers is the right one. The answers are also lettered A, B, and C. So if you think, for example, that A is the right answer to the question, then you should pull the switch that has the letter A beside it; if you think that B is the right answer, then you pull switch B; and the same for C. When you pull the switch the red light next to it will go on. This is to show you that your panel is working right. Later on in Part Two of the test we'll tell you what the green lights are for. Now let's see if the red lights are working.

- - - DEMONSTRATION - - -

Now behind you there is a very expensive and complicated machine, called a computer, which can remember things even better than people can. Although we can all remember many things, we also forget some things. The computer never forgets anything. Each time you answer a question by pulling one of the switches, this machine picks up your answer and remembers it. After you have answered all 18 questions the machine will remember all your answers and will be able to tell us exactly what your answers were without ever making a mistake.

Are there any questions so far?

- - - PAUSE - - -

Now we would like you to listen very carefully to the rules of this test:



- 1) Do not pull a switch until we tell you to. Everyone has to wait his turn.
- 2) After we have told you to pull the switch, leave it on. Do not switch it off until we tell you to.
- 3) Keep your eyes on your own panel and don't try to peek at your neighbour's because that wouldn't be fair.
- 4) Once we have started the test there must be no talking without permission. This is very important and you should ask any questions you may have before the test begins.

Now that you've heard the instructions, let's just try an example and give you a chance to ask questions if you do not understand what you are supposed to do.

- - - DEMONSTRATION - - -

Now we're ready to start the test. Remember, do not pull a switch until we tell you to, do not switch off until we tell you to, no talking without permission, no peeking, and do your best.

PART TWO. Now we come to part two of the test. You have answered all the questions and we hope you got them all right. But in case you didn't, we'll give you another chance. The computer which you heard behind you has been busy picking up your answers and can now tell us how each one of you answered all 18 questions by using the green lights on your panel. Let's just try it.

- - - DEMONSTRATION - - -





We want you to answer the questions a second time because we have found that some students don't do as well as they can the first time they answer the questions because they've never taken a test like this before. Because we want this school to make a high mark, we will let you answer the questions again. And to help you even more, the computer will show you how your friends answered the questions the first time. By looking at the green lights under your friends' names, you will be able to see which answer each friend picked. After you have seen how your friends answered we will ask you once again to pick the right answer just as you did the first time. So we are really giving you a chance to correct any mistakes you might have made on the test. You may change your mind on any of the questions if you like, and the mark obtained by the students in this school will depend on how well you do on the test this time. Your first answers won't count. Please look at the questions carefully before you answer.



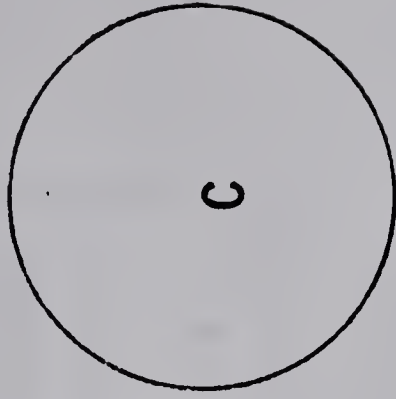
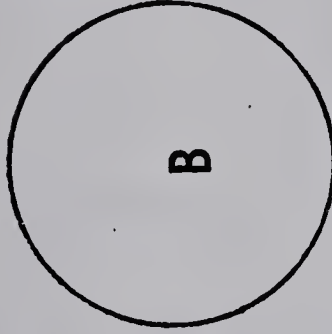
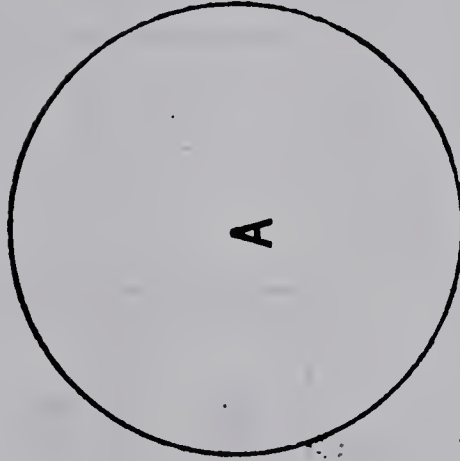
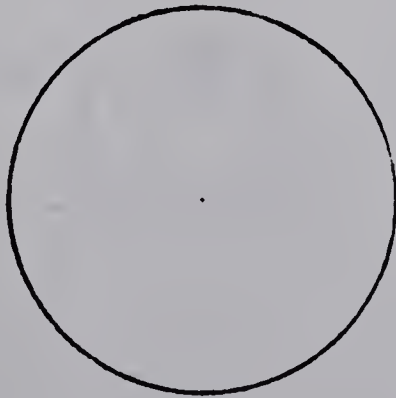
APPENDIX III

CONFORMITY TEST QUESTIONS





WHICH ONE OF THE THREE RED CIRCLES IS THE SAME  
SIZE AS THE BLUE CIRCLE?





**FILL IN THE BLANK WITH THE RIGHT NUMBER:**

5	10
---	----

15	20
----	----

25	30
----	----

35	?
----	---

- A. 50
- B. 40
- C. 45



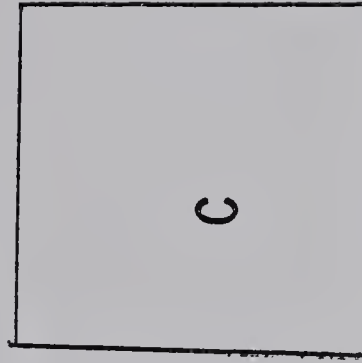
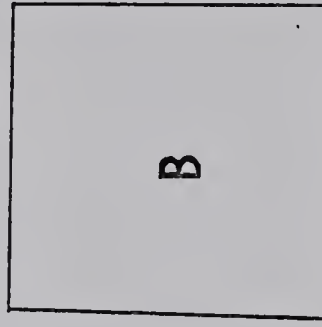
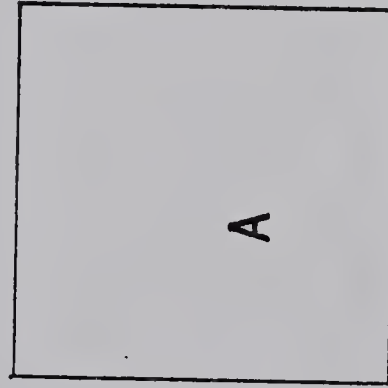
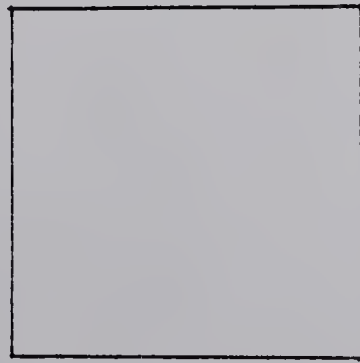


SUPPOSE YOU FOUND SOMETHING THAT DID NOT BELONG TO YOU, WHAT WOULD BE THE BEST THING TO DO?

- A. PICK IT UP AND KEEP IT
- B. PICK IT UP AND SELL IT FOR MONEY
- C. GIVE IT BACK TO THE PERSON WHO LOST IT



WHICH OF THE THREE RED SQUARES IS THE SAME SIZE  
AS THE BLUE SQUARE?







WHICH IS MOST IMPORTANT?

A. TO BE KIND TO ANIMALS

B. TO WIPE YOUR FEET BEFORE GOING INTO THE HOUSE

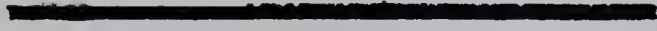
C. TO HONOR YOUR FATHER AND MOTHER



PICK THE RIGHT ANSWER:



#1



#2

- A. LINE NO. 1 IS THE SHORTEST
- B. LINE NO. 2 IS THE SHORTEST
- C. LINE NO. 1 AND 2 ARE THE SAME SIZE





WHICH IS MOST IMPORTANT?

A. TO BE KIND TO STRANGERS

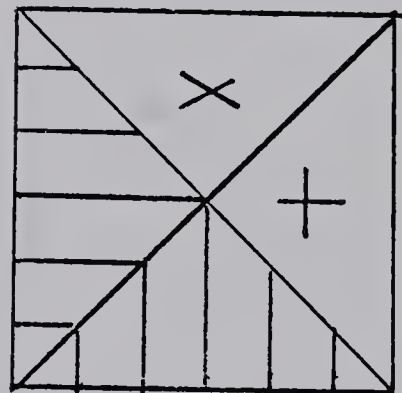
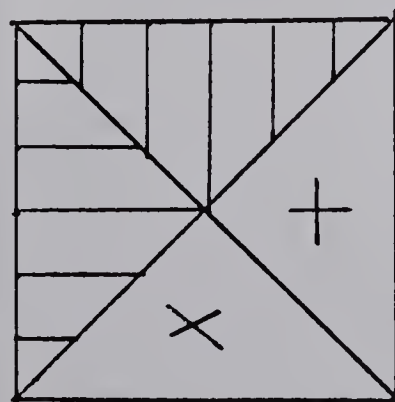
B. TO TELL THE TRUTH

C. TO SIT QUIETLY IN CHURCH

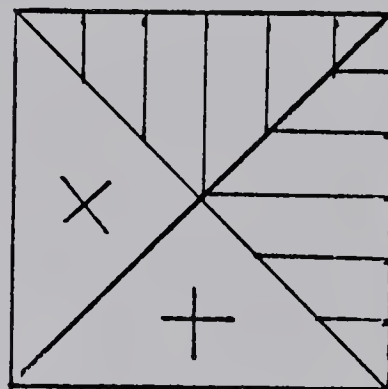


WHICH ONE OF THE THREE RED FIGURES IS THE SAME  
AS THE BLUE FIGURE?

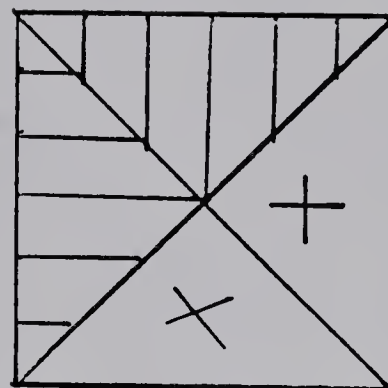
QUESTION #8



A



B



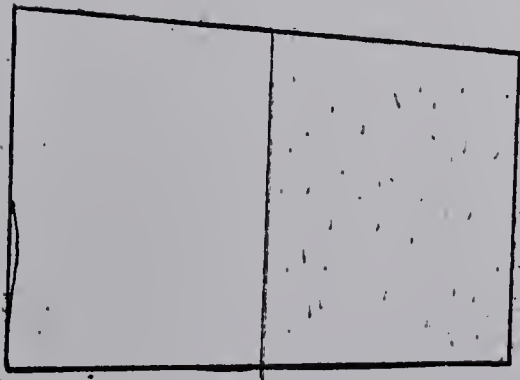
C



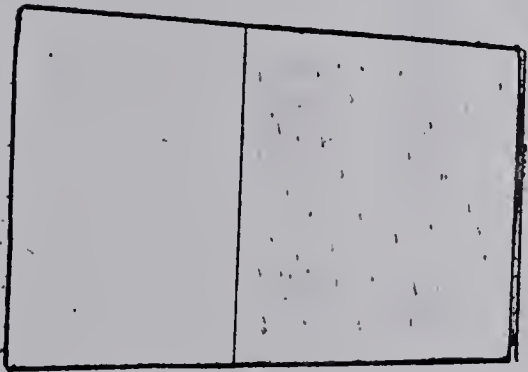


QUESTION #9

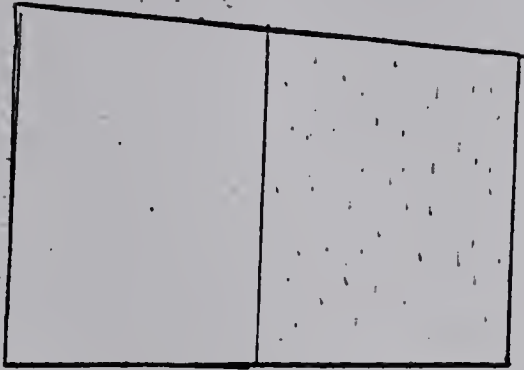
WHICH GLASS IS THE FULLEST?



A



B



C



FILL IN THE BLANK WITH THE RIGHT WORD:

THICK  
THIN

LONG  
SHORT

DEEP  
SHALLOW

HARD  
?

A. SOFT

B. SMOOTH

C. GENTLE





IF SOMEONE HELPED YOU WHEN YOU WERE IN TROUBLE,  
WHAT WOULD BE THE BEST THING TO DO?

- A. HELP HIM WHEN HE IS IN TROUBLE
- B. THANK HIM AND FORGET ABOUT IT
- C. TELL YOUR FRIENDS ABOUT IT



WHICH IS MOST IMPORTANT?

- A. TO TREAT OTHERS THE WAY YOU WOULD LIKE THEM  
TO TREAT YOU.
- B. TO WASH BEFORE GOING TO BED.
- C. ALWAYS TRY TO BE ON TIME.





FILL IN THE BLANK WITH THE RIGHT WORD:

CHICKEN

GOOSE

TURKEY

?

A. DUCK

B. RABBIT

C. SHEEP



WHICH LINE IS THE THINNEST?

A



B



C





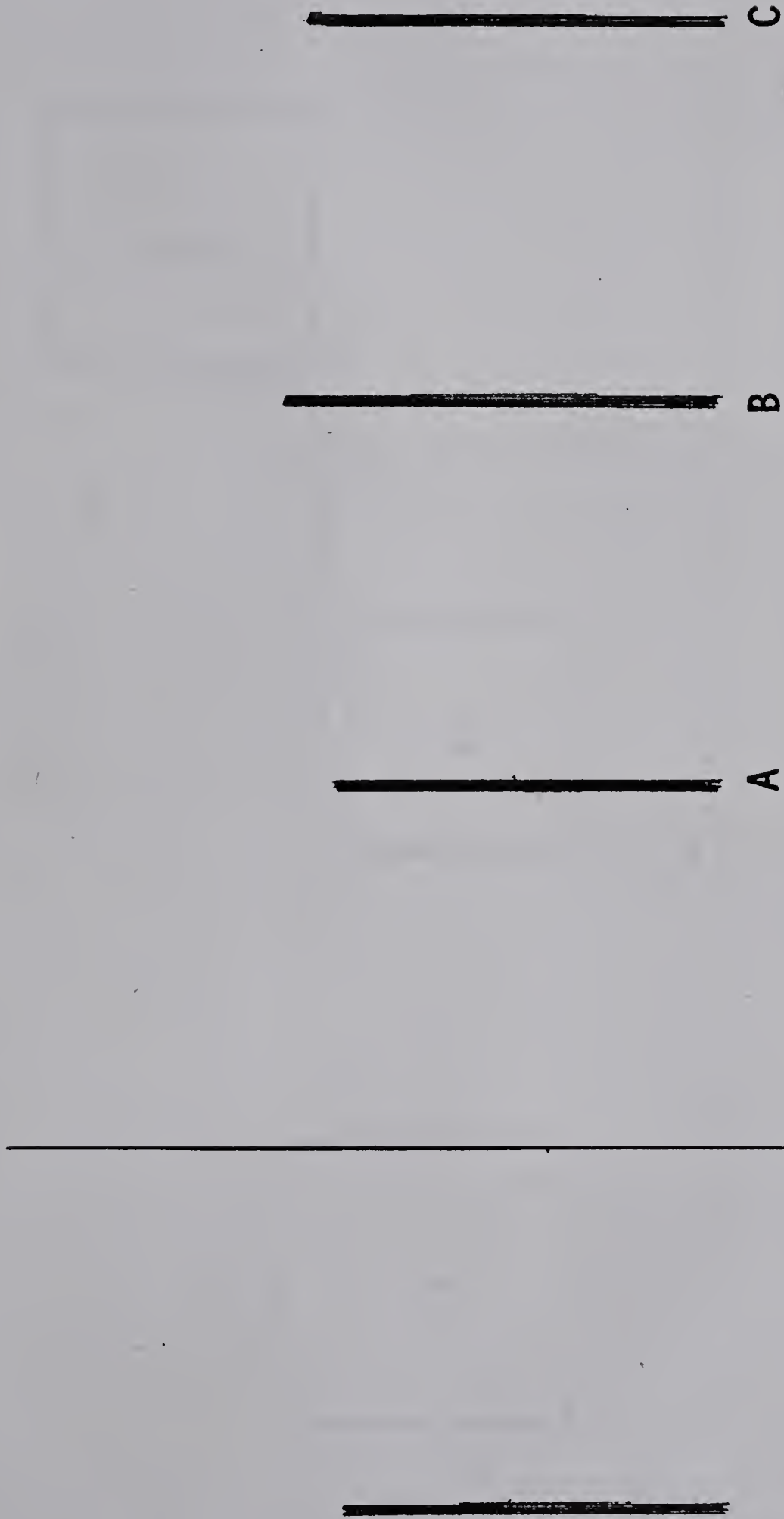


SUPPOSE YOU HAD MORE TOYS THAN YOU NEEDED,  
WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

- A. KEEP ALL OF THEM
- B. SHARE SOME OF THEM WITH YOUR FRIENDS
- C. KEEP AS MANY AS YOU NEEDED AND TRY TO SELL  
THE REST



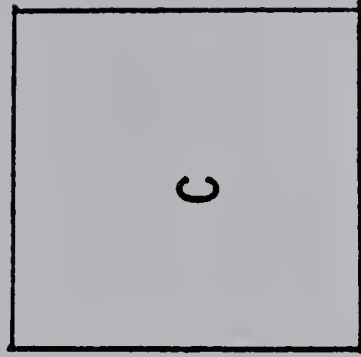
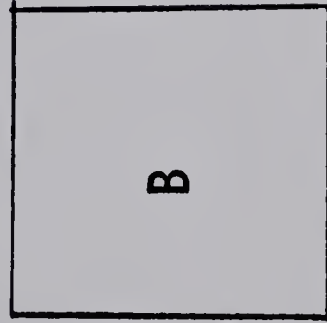
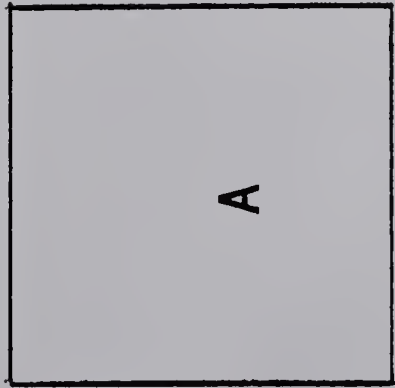
WHICH ONE OF THE THREE RED LINES IS THE SAME SIZE  
AS THE BLUE LINE?







WHICH SQUARE IS THE BIGGEST?





WHICH IS MOST IMPORTANT?

A. TO OBEY YOUR TEACHER

B. TO OBEY GOD

C. TO OBEY YOUR PARENTS





APPENDIX IV

RESPONSE RECORDING SHEET



INITIAL RESPONSE

1	A			
	B			
	C			
2				
3				
4				
5	A			
	B			
	C			

SUBSEQUENT RESPONSE

1	A			
	B			
	C			
2				
3				
4				
5	A			
	B			
	C			

PREDICTED RESPONSE:





APPENDIX V  
MALE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE\*

I

1. Name
2. Present address
3. Date of birth
4. Place of birth (colony)
5. Grade of school completed
6. Did you go to school since leaving the colony?  
  
Place  
  
Years  
  
Do you plan to?
7. Father's name  
  
Residence  
  
(If deceased, give date of death and place of burial.)
8. Mother's name  
  
Residence  
  
(If deceased, give date of death and place of burial.)
9. Were either your father or your mother married more than once?
10. Name your brothers and sisters in order of oldest to youngest.
11. Which children belonged to which parents?
12. Where are you in the family (position)?
13. Were you considered a "favourite" child by your father and mother? If you were, why do you think this was true? If not, who

---

\*Female version slightly modified.



might have been so considered? Why?

14. Marital status
15. Name of wife
16. Date of marriage
17. Place of marriage
18. Number of children (ages and sexes)

## II

19. What do you remember about your kindergarten years?
20. Did you enjoy school? Did you wish to continue school?
21. Was your German teacher strict, fair, or too easy on the children? (What relation was he to you?)
22. How many different English teachers did you have?
23. What were their names?
24. If you had more than one English teacher, which ones did you like best? Why?
25. What church or religion did he, she, they belong to?
26. Did you have anything to do with any of these English teachers outside regular school hours? Which ones? How often? Under what circumstances? How old were you then?
27. Was your family more strict than other families in your colony? In what ways?
28. What sort of person is (was) your father?
29. What sort of person is (was) your mother?





30. Was your colony more strict than other colonies you know?  
In what way?
31. Do you feel that the council at your colony treated all persons fairly?
32. In comparison with other colonies, do you think the boss did a good job?
33. In comparison with other colonies, do you think the preacher did a good job?
34. Would you join another colony if you had the chance?

### III

35. What was your job when you were in the colony? Did you like your job?
36. What do you think were your chances of getting an important job in the colony's future?
37. How did you get along with the boss?
38. How did you get along with the preacher?
39. Who were your non-Hutterite friends while you were on the colony? How did you get to know them? Where?
40. Do you still know them?
41. Do the Hutterite people live nearer to the will of God than other Christian people? Why, or why not?
42. What do you dislike most about colony life?
43. Do you still think of yourself as a Hutterite?



#### IV

43. When did you begin thinking seriously of leaving the colony?  
(approximate age)
44. What was it that kept you from making up your mind to leave immediately?
45. There are some things that Hutterites in the colony aren't allowed to do. Did you plan to do any of these things after leaving? Which ones?
46. What made you decide to leave the colony?
47. Did you talk about what things are like outside the Gemein with anyone who had left the colony and then come back?
48. What sort of punishment did they get when they came back?
49. Did this in any way make you afraid about leaving yourself?
50. Will the Gemein always remember that they once left it and treat them differently because of this?
51. Is your wife a Hutterite, ex-Hutterite, or non-Hutterite?
52. Were you married before or after leaving the colony?
53. Did your wife help you make up your mind to leave in any way?
54. Did you have difficulty in getting along with anyone in particular at your colony? Who? What relation to you? What job did he have?
55. While you were still on the colony, did you talk with Hutterites who had left and were visiting the colony?
56. Did this in any way help you to make up your mind to leave?





57. Was there a specific incident in the colony that made you want to leave?
58. Before you actually left the colony, were you at any time worried or concerned about getting along on the outside?
59. (If yes), What specifically gave you cause for concern?  
(If no), Why did you think you would be able to make a go of it?
60. What did you think your life would be like away from the colony?
61. I would have remained on the colony if \_\_\_\_\_.

V

62. Did you ever leave and return to the colony before? (Give number of times and length of stay) - Get full story.
63. When you first left the colony (or when you left the last time), did you think you were only leaving for a short time?
64. Did you tell anyone you were leaving?
65. Did anyone outside the colony help you to leave?
66. The colony you left: \_\_\_\_\_
67. Date you left: day\_\_\_\_\_ month\_\_\_\_\_ year\_\_\_\_\_
68. How did you leave? (walk, go along to town, drive car, or how?)  
Get full story.
69. Time of leaving: time of day. \_\_\_\_\_ day of week. \_\_\_\_\_
70. What did you take along? (How much money and clothes)
71. Where did you stay the first night? (And all places stayed since)
72. Would you advise others to leave? Why? Why not?



## VI

73. When you first left, how were you treated by outsiders?
74. Did you think a great deal about returning to the colony? If so, what made you remain away?
75. When you first left the colony, did you feel like a stranger who did not belong? (If so), What made you feel this way?
76. What was the thing that surprised you most about life outside the colony?
77. What was the thing that surprised you least about life outside the colony?
78. When you first left the colony, did you study non-Hutterites and try to be like them? In what ways?
79. Did you have any difficulty speaking or writing the English language after leaving?
80. What do you want most to get out of life?
81. How do you expect to achieve this?

## VII

82. What do you like most about being out of the colony?
83. Do you know any Hutterites who are no longer living in the colony?
84. What are your relationships with them? Do you visit? Write to them? How often?
85. Did you once visit or write them more often than you do at the present time?



86. Are there any that you count as particularly good friends? Which ones? Why?
87. Do they feel confident that they can make a go of it or not?
88. Do their feelings about this have any effect on your own feelings of self-confidence?
89. Under what conditions would you consider returning to the colony?
90. What would the Gemein do to punish you if you came back?

### VIII

91. Whom do you visit (or write to) in the colony? (parent, girl friend, boy friend, brother, or other status)
92. Do you visit colonies other than the one you left?
93. Do you know any Hutterites living on the colony who have at any time seriously thought about leaving?
94. If so, do you know why they actually never did leave?
95. Why do most Hutterites remain on the colony?
96. Is there a German word used by the Gemein which means a Hutterite who has left the colony permanently?
97. Does the colony still look upon you as a Hutterite?
98. Are Hutterite women different from other women? How?
99. What do you like least about being out of the colony?

### IX

100. The hardest thing about living outside the colony is \_\_\_\_\_





101. Give occupations since leaving the colony (from first to most recent) (length and salary of each where applicable)
102. Are you happy with your present job and salary?
103. How do you get along with the boss at your present job?
104. What do you think your chances are of getting a better job? of getting higher wages?
105. What do you hope to be doing ten years from now?
106. Do you have an automobile? (Where applicable, how long owner, make, year, cost)
107. Who is your best friend at this time?
108. (If wife is a Hutterite or ex-Hutterite), Has your wife made friends of her own outside the colony?
109. Have you been in touch with any of your former English school teachers since leaving the colony? Which ones? Under what circumstances?
110. In regards to your own children, if or when you have any, how would you raise them differently from those in the colony? (probe into specifics)
111. What sort of future would you like your own children to have?
112. What would you say your main goal in life is at the present time?
113. Has your main goal in life changed in any way since you left the colony? How?
114. Is there any one thing that you can name which brought about this change?



115. Will it be easier, just as easy, or more difficult to get what you want out of life now that you are away from the colony? How?
116. Has your ability to speak, read, and write English improved since you left the colony?
117. What organizations do you belong to? (e.g. unions, church groups, lodges) How often do you attend?
118. Do you vote in elections? (Political views are. \_\_\_\_\_)
119. Do you attend church? (Denomination and extent of participation)
120. Do you feel badly about having been unable to live according to Hutterite religious teachings?
121. If you went back to the colony, what would you miss most about the life outside?
122. If it were necessary, do you think it would be right to fight for your country?
123. If you had the chance, would you do it over again? Why, or why not?
124. Place of interview: (give town and situation, whether tavern or living room, etc.)
125. Time of interview (time of day)      Beginning:  
Ending:  
Date:
126. Appearance (clothing, grooming)
127. Mannerisms (at ease, under tension, very frank, extremely reluctant)





128. Interviewer:

129. Other factors or impressions (by the interviewer)





